

The Nation

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THURSDAY, JULY 12, 1888.

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Schools.

Alphabetized, first, by States; second, by Towns.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 12, 1888.

The Week.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND's admirable letter to the Fourth of July meeting in Tammany Hall will satisfy everybody that he is going to force the fighting on the tariff reform issue. He shows no more disposition to fear the consequences now than he did when he sent his message to Congress last December. He sounds the keynote of the campaign in a few sentences, which sum up the whole question with the terseness and force of aphorisms:

"Our Government belongs to the people. They have decreed its purposes; and it is their clear right to demand that its cost shall be limited by frugality, and that its burden of expense shall be carefully limited by its actual needs. In the midst of our impetuous enterprise and blind confidence in our destiny, it is time to pause and study our condition. It is no sooner appreciated than the conviction must follow, that the tribute exacted from the people should be diminished. Those who oppose reform attempt to disturb our workingmen by the cry that their wages and their employment are threatened. They advocate a system which benefits certain classes of our citizens at the expense of every householder in the land—a system which breeds discontent, because it permits the duplication of wealth without corresponding additional recompense to labor, which prevents the opportunity to work by stifling production and limiting the area of our markets, and which enhances the cost of living beyond the laborer's hard-earned wages."

Rarely has the President's gift for expressing, in the homely language of common sense, the fundamental truths of large public questions stood him in better stead. The educating influence which his leadership has already exerted was forcibly shown by the enthusiastic reception which the Tammany audience gave not only to his letter, but to the strong speech which Mr. Mills made upon the real objects and effects of his Tariff Bill. A year ago a mere mention of a speech on the tariff would have emptied Tammany Hall.

Mr. Mills's speech was a model of its kind, and we fully agree with an estimate which a Tammany leader made of its influence, that it was worth at least 10,000 votes for the Democratic ticket. It will be worth more than that if it is circulated as freely as it ought to be. Mr. Mills confined himself to a frank and simple explanation of what his bill really proposes to do. There is no point upon which light is more valuable at this time, for not one man in a hundred has the remotest idea of what the bill actually is. The Republicans all shout that it is a free trade measure, but scarcely one of them has ever read it or an accurate outline of it. Mr. Mills showed first that it would cut down the surplus \$1,000,000 by taking the duty off lumber, for this reason: "The duty of \$2 a thousand feet has been worth \$35,000,000 to some of the 'lumber kings' of Michigan and other States, but we believed it was better that they should not make so

much money, and that the struggling farmers on the prairies, who now live in sod houses, should be enabled to get lumber so cheap that they could build nice, comfortable farmhouses." Then the bill would take the duty off salt, because nature supplies it, men and beasts are in constant need of it, and the tax is merely kept on to "foster a monopoly as selfish and grasping as exists in the world." Next, it would take the duty off tin plates, which now amounts to \$5,700,000 annually, though there is not a tin plate manufactory in America. The abolition of this duty would not throw a single laborer out of employment.

In regard to the free wool proposal of his bill, Mr. Mills spoke with especial force, and his words are a striking contrast to the "baa-aa" argument which Congressman Horr put forth at the recent Republican ratification meeting. There is not, he said, nearly enough wool grown in this country to clothe our people. We grow 265,000,000 pounds a year, and it requires 600,000,000 pounds to make clothing for our people. High duties keep out nearly all wools except the coarse carpet wools, and the result is the use of shoddy in the manufacture of the woollen clothing which workingmen wear. Over \$44,000,000 worth of woollen goods are imported annually, at an average duty of 38 per cent. If wool were admitted free of duty, these woollen goods could be manufactured so cheaply in this country that the imports would stop, and we should soon be supplying foreign markets as well as our own, while the increase in our manufacturing product would increase enormously the demand for labor, and consequently enhance the rate of wages. Subsequently Mr. Mills showed, what has been shown over and over again, that the average duty on imports is now 47.10 per cent., and his bill proposes to reduce it to 40 per cent., a reduction of only 7.10 per cent. This is what the Republicans call free trade, and rather than submit to an average duty of 40 per cent., they declare that they will give the country free whiskey.

The President has given Congress some rudimentary but necessary instruction upon the question of pension legislation. Both houses of Congress have made repeated efforts to induce him to treat the subject, as they persist in doing, from the demagogic point of view, but he persistently refuses to do so, preferring to treat the American soldier as a man of character and self-respect rather than as a beggar. In a message sent to the Senate on Thursday he answers the recent arraignment made by that body upon his pension policy, by saying:

"None of us should be in the least wanting in regard for the veteran soldier, and I will yield to no man in a desire to see those who defended the Government when it needed defenders, fairly treated. Unfriendliness to our veterans

is a charge easily and sometimes dishonestly made. I insist that the true soldier is a good citizen, and that he will be satisfied with generous, fair, and equal consideration for those who are worthily entitled to help. I have considered the pension list of the Republic a roll of honor, bearing names inscribed by national gratitude and not by improvident and indiscriminate alms giving. I have conceived the prevention of the complete discredit which must ensue from the unreasonable, unfair, and reckless granting of pensions by special acts, to be the best service I can render our veterans."

He says that there are before him now more than 100 special pension bills which can hardly be examined within the time allowed for that purpose, and suggests that "It would be well if our general pensions laws should be revised with a view of meeting every meritorious case that can arise. Our experience and knowledge of any existing deficiencies ought to make the enactment of a complete pension code possible." This is a rational and statesmanlike solution of the difficulty, but there is little likelihood of Congress adopting it so long as there remains a "soldier vote" to be angled for.

Secretary Fairchild has been having with a correspondent of the *Springfield Republican*, another of those talks on the "sugar fraud" affair which fill his friends, among whom we count ourselves, with sincere regret. This time he is replying to Mr. George William Curtis in *Harper's Weekly*, and asserts that he knows more about the matter than Mr. Curtis, because Mr. Curtis has not seen "the evidence collected by the agents of the Department." Now the agents of the Department who have got up this sugar fraud story are simply one Byrne, a newspaper reporter at one time connected with the *Boston Herald*, and offering not a single guarantee that we have been able to hear of, as to trustworthiness or knowledge either of frauds, sugar, custom houses, valuations, or polariscopes. It is on the report of this man, whose selection for such a work by the government of a great commercial State may safely be called grotesque, that all this fraud story rests in the last resort. This was bad enough, but was aggravated when Assistant Secretary Maynard undertook to make "politics" out of the report, and it is still further aggravated by Mr. Fairchild's passionate determination to stand by Mr. Maynard and see him through his troubles. Of course, if frauds at the Custom-house in the semi-scientific valuation of an article yielding such large revenues as sugar, were suspected, a civilized Government ought to have had them at once investigated, but the investigation ought to have been conducted by a commission, containing a scientific man of repute, a business man of repute, and perhaps a lawyer or politician of repute, and the evidence ought to have been taken publicly. If Secretary Fairchild really wishes to explain, he must begin by saying why he selected poor Byrne to overhaul the great

custom-houses of the country, and what Byrne was supposed to know either about sugar or evidence, and what his experience of life has been in any field. These are on their face somewhat ridiculous questions to ask, but they have to be asked and ought to be answered.

What is the matter with all the Republican leaders, orators, and editors? Not one of them seems able to speak of Harrison without in some way throwing cold water on his candidacy. "Steve" Elkins speaks of him as being a candidate of whom Warner Miller was able to say "almost with enthusiasm" that he "would come nearer to carrying New York" than any other candidate. The *Tribune* has made no concealment of its belief that Blaine would have been a stronger candidate. The *Philadelphia Press* has declared that the course pursued at Chicago, ending in Harrison's nomination, "is not the way to get a united party with trusted leadership." And now Mr. Estee, the Chairman of the Convention, in formally announcing to Gen. Harrison the fact of his nomination, says: "It is true, distinguished gentlemen, well known to the people, who were experienced in public affairs, illustrious in character, and worthy of the people's confidence and support, were before the Convention as candidates, *and yet you were chosen.*" That is not even "almost enthusiastic."

The first really enthusiastic support of Harrison that we have seen, outside of Indiana journalism, comes to hand in Mr. Wharton Barker's *American* of Philadelphia. Mr. Barker declares that Gen. Harrison has been his favorite candidate for five years, and implies more or less directly that for that reason he feels sure of his election next November. He pronounces the platform "straightforward, sound, and strong," and remarks: "Let us by all means have an open and direct contest on the question whether the duties on foreign goods shall be high enough to protect American industry." That statement of the issue gives rise to a suspicion that Mr. Barker has not read carefully the platform which he commends, for in that the question of the campaign is stated in a very different way, and to this effect: "Rather than reduce, revise, or alter in any way, save to make higher, the present high-tariff duties, we are in favor of giving the country free whiskey." The campaign is scarcely a fortnight old yet, but the issue is already squarely drawn as to whether cheaper food, clothing, and other necessities of life, or free whiskey will be more beneficial to the American people. Mr. Barker will have to walk faster if he is going to keep up with the procession.

After a week of that prayerful consideration which he always gives to every question that has what Mr. Blaine calls "a moral side," Mr. Henry C. Bowen, the editor of our esteemed religious contemporary the

Independent, announces his cordial approval and hearty support of the free-whiskey policy to which the Chicago Convention committed the Republican party. Mr. Bowen sets an excellent example to more squeamish secular editors by disregarding the absurd pretence that it makes any difference whether or not it is "a remote contingency" in which the party would resort to this policy, rightly holding that it is a question of principle. Nor does he sympathize with those secular editors who seek a salve for their less robust consciences by advancing the theory that the removal of the tax on whiskey would not increase intemperance. He entirely agrees with Mr. Blaine that it would of necessity foster drunkenness; his exact words are: "We believe the tax to be a check on the traffic." But so much more disastrous than any increase of drunkenness, however great, does he consider any reduction in the taxes upon the necessities of life, however small, that he would remove the tax upon whiskey entirely rather than touch the tax upon wool, for instance, or upon lumber, or upon tin plates. "Rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system," the *Independent* would flood the country with cheap whiskey; and upon this platform Mr. Henry C. Bowen confidently appeals to the religious convictions of the American people.

The signs of severe mental, and even physical, suffering among the Blaineites over the charge that their candidate intrigued for the nomination at Chicago, continue to be numerous and grave. They are apparently ready to produce affidavits from various innocent men that during the whole period of the Convention's sittings he and his host, Mr. Carnegie, were absorbed in their coaching trip and in the beauties of English and Scotch scenery, and, if they had a telegraphic cipher, only used it to warn "the Boys" that Mr. Blaine positively must not be nominated. We now advise them to let the matter drop. They cannot convince a single human being who knows them or their ways of the truth of anything they say, particularly when what they say runs counter to notorious facts. Moreover, Mr. Blaine was not nominated. He is now simply a private citizen coaching with Mr. Carnegie. As such he interests very few people. Why not let him be? Why weep and curse and call names over him? Why cannot the disciples pull themselves together and be men? Life doubtless will now be hard for them, but not harder than for tens of thousands of uncomplaining widows.

Mr. Hamilton Fish, jr., is a very singular person. He told the Fassett Committee in his testimony on Monday what all his brother members of the Aqueduct Commission must have known to be incorrect, that the bad quality of the inspectors on the aqueduct was due "in great part to the character and unfitness of the inspectors sent us by the Civil Service Commission, of which the editor of the

Evening Post is Chairman." The editor of the *Evening Post* is not Chairman of the Civil-Service Commission. The examinations for inspectors are conducted by examiners selected by the Aqueduct Commission, under rules framed by the Aqueduct Commission, which the Civil-Service Commission adopted *pro forma*. The Chief Engineer rates the papers. If Mr. Fish did not know this fact, what a man he is to be drawing \$5,000 salary from the State. If he does know it, what a man he is to go on the witness stand and swear to a misrepresentation.

Mr. Fish's testimony left no doubt whatever as to who the originators were of the scheme to turn over the building of the new aqueduct to a gang of plunderers headed by Squire and Flynn. Mr. Fish swore that the Republican Speaker of the Assembly first revealed the plot to him, and said in so many words that its success was desirable in order to strengthen the Republican party in Westchester County and keep up the Republican wing of the Legislature in the fall elections. Mr. Fish went ahead with that end in view. He laughs at the idea of taking into account the interests of this city. He drew a bill reorganizing the Aqueduct Commission by adding three new members. He had a Republican Senator introduce it. He had personal interviews with John O'Brien, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and the principal aqueduct contractor, and with Judge Muller, the Governor's confidential friend in all the aqueduct "deal" business, and obtained from them pledges of Democratic support for the bill. As they had large Republican majorities in both branches of the Legislature, all the "Democratic support" they needed was the Governor's. Mr. Fish lobbied for the bill for several weeks, with the understanding that when it should be passed he should be one of the new Commissioners at a salary of \$5,000 a year.

The bill passed the Senate as it had been drawn, adding three new Commissioners, at a salary of \$5,000 a year each, but leaving in the Mayor and Comptroller as *ex-officio* members to look after the interests of New York city taxpayers. When it reached the Assembly, a Republican member moved an amendment striking the Mayor and Comptroller from the Commission. This left the city without a single official representative upon the Commission, and put Squire, the characterless Commissioner of Public Works, in control of the work of building the aqueduct by securing four of the seven members of the Commission who could be depended upon to follow his lead in all questions. The bill, thus amended, although denounced on the floor of the Assembly as an infamous piece of legislation, was passed by the unanimous Republican vote of that body. It was taken on the same day to the Senate, and although roundly denounced there by a Democratic Senator, was passed there by the unanimous vote of the Republican majority. The Gov-

ernor, in the face of all appeals and protests, appointed the men agreed upon.

We recall nothing in the curious political history of this city which is quite equal to this. We have had plenty of revelations of dishonest methods by men who, like Tweed and Sharp and our Boodle Aldermen, appeared to have no moral perceptive faculties. They made money out of politics as a trade, and they could see no reason why there should be such a fuss about their doings when they were exposed; but this is the first instance in which a gentleman, brought up under the most favorable conditions for giving him high moral and public-spirited ideas of official duty, has come before the public, and avowed, without a trace of shame, that he engaged deliberately in a plot with a lot of unscrupulous politicians of the opposite party to plunder the city of New York in the interest of "politics," and to secure for himself a salary of \$5,000 a year. He refuses to say that he sees even any impropriety in entering into a "combine" with a contractor to pass a bill which that contractor favored. After this it will not do to charge that the frauds and corruption in our city polities are due to the influence of the "ignorant foreign vote." Here is a native American gentleman entering into a plot with other Americans, including a Republican Speaker of the Assembly and a Democratic Governor of the State, to cheat and rob the taxpayers of New York, and they are able to bring to the support of that plot the entire Republican majority of both branches of the Legislature and win the approval of the leading Republican organ of the city when their work was crowned with success. This whole disgraceful job was of American origin, and the men who conceived it and carried it forward to success pride themselves upon their "Americanism" as being the only genuine brand. The tremendously American *Tribune* was their sole ally and defender in the respectable press of this city, and the sole newspaper here which covered with personal abuse and vilification the gentleman who exposed the character of the head of the plunder conspiracy, and thus defeated it when its success seemed certain.

Mr. John Jarrett, whilom President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron-Workers, at present attorney for protection, gave some testimony before the Senate Committee on the relations of labor and capital, which it is worth while recalling. Said he: "The wages paid the iron and steel-workers (I refer to those who are connected with our organization) are on the whole tolerably fair. I claim that this condition is simply the result of organization among the workmen. . . . As a rule, in such mills as are not controlled by our organization, lower wages are paid. Of course, there are all sorts of arguments used by the owners of these mills. . . . They claim that the controlling influence whereby wages are governed in this country is the tariff, and they say they pay all the tariff guarantees them." He went on to say that

this claim was all humbug, and that it was the Association alone that forced employers to pay good wages. At the same time he put in a valiant plea for protection, though he was considerably distressed by the close questions of Senator Call, who finally brought him up squarely as follows: "I understand you that, but for the trades unions, the benefit of the tariff would be absorbed wholly by the manufacturers?" The President of the Amalgamated got the better of the advocate of protection in Mr. Jarrett, and he replied, "It would be largely so." We commend these statements to those iron-workers in the West who are now trying to find out what is the true market price of their labor unaffected by the tariff, and whom the manufacturers, or a few of them, are trying to fool with the old "claim" that wages must go down on account of tariff agitation.

An interesting outcome of the tariff war between Italy and France is the appeal for Governmental assistance now made by the wine-producers of southern Italy, who find themselves with over two hundred million litres of last year's wine on hand, its market having been cut off by the "war." They now contemplate the utilization of this stock by distilling it, and they petition the Government to refund excise taxes already paid on the wine, to reduce the distillation tax on their behalf to one-half its usual rate, to confer a considerable bounty on the exportation of spirits, and to give them reduced rates of transportation on the Government railways. It is not very likely that these demands will be granted, for not only would they entail a very considerable expense themselves, but the fear is entertained that the granting of them would be the signal for a flood of claims for help from other industries in distress.

The alleged Parnell letters still agitate British society and politics. The Liberals are indulging in fierce denunciation of the Attorney-General, who appeared as counsel for the *Times* in the libel suit brought by O'Donnell, for reading these letters in his opening speech, and then failing to prove their authenticity, to which he answers that the Court cut him short, and would not let him present his evidence because the plaintiff's case was so poor. Parnell, who was subpoenaed but not called, has denounced them as forgeries in his place in the House of Commons, but the *Times* says his "naked denials" do not suffice, and says this, while loudly proclaiming that under no circumstances would it tell him how the letters came into its hands, or what reason it has for believing them authentic, except that it considers Parnell capable of writing them. Michael Davitt has intervened in the discussion to make an excellent suggestion, namely, that if the Attorney-General really believes the letters to be genuine, and really believes that the letters show complicity in assassination, it is his bounden duty to prosecute Parnell criminally as an accessory before the fact. As long as this is not done, indeed, the whole

affair must wear the air of campaign thunder.

As a question of social ethics the affair is an odd one to occupy a society which plumes itself so much as English society does on its nicely in matters of honor and fair play. Until now it has been held everywhere, if A produces a letter alleged to be written by B, and damaging to him, and B denies that he wrote it, A is then bound to produce his reasons for believing that B did write it, and chief among these reasons would be an account of the manner in which it came into his (A's) possession. The curious part of the Parnell case is, that A here refuses to acknowledge that B's demand imposes on him (A) any burden of further proof whatever. If the case went to trial in a court of law, the *Times* would produce the letters, and Parnell would repudiate them. The *Times* would then produce experts to testify that they were in his handwriting. He would doubtless produce just as many to testify that they were not in his handwriting. The *Times* would then be asked for corroboration in the shape of a history of the letters. This, however, it declares it will under no circumstances give. If there were no "politics" in the matter, of course such a declaration would produce general derision.

A year ago, when some allusion was made to these charges of the *Times* in the House of Commons, the Irish party challenged a full investigation at the hands of a Parliamentary committee, which they were willing to have composed exclusively of political opponents. The Ministry rejected the proposal, and the *Times* strenuously opposed it, insisting that a court of law was the only place for such a proceeding. To this the Parnellites made answer that they were not willing to go before a jury of London tradesmen animated by the usual prejudices of their class, and that they did not wish the investigation to be hampered or restricted by the rules of "legal evidence." For the passion for "legal evidence" in all investigations of a political character, where it is desirable for any reason that the field of inquiry should be narrowed, and all the probabilities on which men form their judgments in the ordinary affairs of life be shut out from view, is just as strong in England as it is here. But the effect on the public mind of the refusal of the Parliamentary inquiry was very great, and discredited the *Times* considerably, if not fatally. It is not likely that the O'Donnell trial will help it. In fact, it is hard to resist the belief that the youth who conducts that journal and his exceedingly simple minded proprietor have been made the victims of a monstrous imposture by a knot of Irish speculators, who have sold them for a good round sum a sackful of blood-curdling but skilfully prepared documentary revelations. If the secret history of this bargain ever comes out, it will probably be as entertaining as anything in the history of credulity and deceit.

THE PROPOSED SUGAR BOUNTY.

The debate upon Mr. Cannon's proposition to repeal the tariff on sugar and establish a system of bounties in its stead, demonstrates the incapacity of the Republican party to deal with the surplus. The controversy was practically confined to the Republicans, and the participants were almost equally and altogether irreconcilably divided. Mr. Cannon received the applause of the one faction when he declared that if he must choose between untaxed sugar and untaxed spirits, he would vote for untaxed sugar. Mr. Kelley called forth the applause of the other when he quoted the protection plank in the Chicago platform, and eulogized its demand for the repeal of the internal-revenue system, by declaring that he was ready to say, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen the glory of the Republican party." Neither faction confined itself to the advocacy of its own line of action; each condemned that proposed by the other.

Mr. Cannon and his supporters showed that while the unprotected industries of the South had been bounding forward, the production of sugar in Louisiana had fallen from 218,000 hogsheads in 1880 to 145,000 in 1886. In other words, the policy of protection had failed. Mr. Kelley and his supporters dealt blows to the bounty proposition. Mr. Kelley declared that it was contrary to all precedent and contrary to the genius of American institutions. Mr. Holmes of Iowa denounced it as bad ethics and bad financial legislation. Mr. Anderson of Kansas declared that the proposition was one to give to the Republican party the shibboleth of bounty instead of the shibboleth of protection. Never was so much economic truth heard from the lips of protectionist Congressmen. On the one side it was admitted that the protective tariff is a bounty system, and on the other a bounty system was denounced as iniquitous and contrary to the principles of democratic government.

Many good Republicans have expressed surprise that the party leaders in the national Convention did not endorse the policy represented in this debate by Mr. Cannon, instead of that represented by Mr. Kelley. To the mass of Republicans free sugar, with or without bounties, has for a long time seemed the wisest and the most acceptable method of getting rid of the surplus. Even the *New York Tribune*, in its issue of September 22, 1886, declared itself as follows:

"The Tribune does not believe that taxes on tobacco and liquor ought to be reduced or removed while the tax on sugar and other necessities of life is retained without change. . . . So long as the conspiracy which seized the government of Louisiana by crime, and which defrauds a majority of the people at every election, continues to send Democratic representatives to Congress, the Tribune does not consider that they have any right to plead protection as a pretext for a duty which is contrary to Democratic principles, and which, from a revenue point of view, should be reduced rather than any tax on luxuries or vice."

This bloody-shirt declaration in favor of protection only to Republicans, would not, indeed, have formed a very valuable campaign document in a closely contested election. Nevertheless, the fact that no Repub-

licans are benefited by the sugar tariff certainly seemed to join with everything else in pointing towards the sugar tax as the first one to be reduced. Yet when the Chicago Convention met, free sugar was not mentioned, and free whiskey was demanded rather than reduce in any way the protective tariff which the war had established.

Such seeming perversity on the part of the Committee on Resolutions certainly calls for an explanation. It is hardly enough to say that the corporations which dictated the platform had been living in a fool's paradise, and lost all sense as to the feeling of the masses. Maj. McKinley certainly knew in some degree the sentiments of his constituents, and he would not have drafted that platform had he seen any other way in which the interests of protection might be maintained permanently. Mr. Kelley's speech on Saturday is the clearest indication yet given as to the line of argument which governed the Committee. They saw that a declaration in favor of sugar bounties would be an open confession that the protective tariff is a tax upon the consumer. They also saw that in the face of public opinion the Republican party dare not exchange the shibboleth of protection for the shibboleth of "bounty"; and, lastly and chiefly, they knew that a bounty to the sugar interest was, for good reason, contrary to all American precedent. The only bounty ever granted to any industry was that to the fisheries in the early days, and this was avowedly an administrative measure for the maintenance of a school for a volunteer navy. The giving of a bounty of \$6,000,000 a year directly to a particular interest, without any warrant either in the written Constitution or in precedent, was a measure which the Committee on Resolutions at the National Republican Convention was naturally reluctant to demand.

We are not in the habit of arguing against the constitutionality of a protective tariff. The dictum of John Marshall, that where a general power is given to the national Government the means by which it shall be exercised must be left to the discretion of Congress, has always seemed to us final upon this point. Yet the disbelief in the constitutionality of such taxes is not confined to unreconstructed Democrats. Judge Cooley, in his *'Principles of Constitutional Law'*, states the matter as follows:

"Constitutionally, a tax can have no other basis than the raising of revenue for public purposes; and whatever governmental action has not this basis is tyrannical and unlawful. A tax on imports, therefore, the purpose of which is not to raise a revenue, but to discourage and indirectly prohibit some particular import for the sake of some home manufacturer, may well be questioned as being merely colorable, and therefore not warranted by constitutional principle."

If this be the constitutional status of a protective tariff which Congress imposes in carrying into effect a power certainly granted it, what possible justification is there for granting a bounty without even the pretence that it is to regulate commerce or carry out any one of the powers delegated to the national Government? The national Government, as every one knows, is one with no powers except those expressly granted it. The State

government is one with all powers except those expressly prohibited. Yet in the year 1874 a State law authorizing bounties was decided unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, only one judge dissenting. Justice Miller gave the decision of the court as follows (*Loan Association vs. Topeka*, 20 Wall., 653, 664):

"If it be said that a benefit results to the local public of a town by establishing manufactures, the same may be said of any other business which employs labor and capital. The merchant, the mechanic, the innkeeper, the banker, the builder, the steamboat owner, are equally the promoters of the public good, and equally deserving the aid of the citizens by forced contributions. No line can be drawn in favor of the manufacturer which would not open the coffers of the public treasury to two-thirds of the business men of the city or town."

Even a Pennsylvania court (*Sharswood, J.*, in 62 Pa. St., 491-495) has taken the same position:

"To lay with one hand the power of the government on the property of the citizens, and with the other to bestow it on favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the forms of law and taxation."

To not only exempt one industry from taxation, but to make it the recipient of taxes, is to give to it the feudal privilege of legal robbery. When, through our local governments, the favored industry subjects property-owners to contribution, the courts have uniformly denounced the crime as "robbery." If our national Government should subject the laborers of the country to contribution in order to grant a bounty to the sugar-planters of Louisiana, the same crime would be involved. The Republican party is incapable of reducing the surplus. The policy advocated by one faction violates the moral instincts of the nation; the policy advocated by the other violates the principles of its constitutional law.

CHEAP CLOTHES.

A FORTNIGHT ago we quoted the following from a speech of Gen. Harrison last March:

"I am one of those uninstructed political economists that have an impression that some things may be too cheap, that I cannot find myself in full sympathy with this demand for cheaper coats, which seems to me necessarily to involve a cheaper man and woman under the coat. I believe it is true to-day that we have many things in this country that are too cheap, because whenever it is proved that the man or woman who produces any article cannot get a decent living out of it, then it is too cheap."

We said then that this was distinctly the talk, not of a hard man, but of a man who was literally, as he himself admitted, "uninstructed"—that is, had not reflected on his topic. When he touched on the moral aspect of cheap clothing, he was evidently much in the state of mind of Gen. Hancock when the latter took up the tariff in the campaign of 1880. He had doubtless heard that the tailors and seamstresses who make cheap clothing are often poorly paid, and he knew that if he were conscious of wearing a coat which had been made by poorly-paid labor, he, being a well-to-do man, who goes to an expensive tailor, would feel uncomfortable, so he wandered on over the subject in a hazy way until he reached the conclusion that all cheap clothing was a bad thing, and that a man or woman who wore a

cheap coat would "necessarily" become "a cheap man or woman."

Whether this doctrine will play any part in the Republican canvass, of course we cannot say. But whether it does or no, it must be distinctly borne in mind that it is a new doctrine, and that it needs much elucidation. The older view of those who trace a connection between a man's clothing and his moral condition, has always been that a man is improved and his self-respect maintained by wearing good clothes, and that what makes a man feel "cheap" is not the cheapness of his clothing, but its poor condition. All observers of human nature hitherto have testified, and all laborers among the poor have corroborated their testimony, that you cannot do much for the moral elevation of a man as long as he is not decently clad, and that the minute you give him decent clothing, his rise becomes easier, no matter what the clothes may have cost. Nothing, in fact, as all the world except Gen. Harrison knows, degrades so rapidly as ragged and filthy garments. If you want to find cheap men or women, you must look for them inside patched and threadbare coats, trousers, and gowns. The most hopeless feature in the tramp's condition is his indifference to the condition of his clothing. As soon as you get him to wear a good coat you have started him on his upward journey, and he would laugh, and all philanthropists, and moralists, and statesmen, and economists that we have ever heard of would laugh heartily with him, if at this point Gen. Harrison were to appear on the scene, and cry, "Hold on; how much has this coat cost? If it be a cheap coat, it will do the man no good. Let me see the bill, in order that I may feel sure that wearing it will really exert the improving influence on him which we all so much desire."

In truth, there is probably no sign of a people's condition on which modern economists and statesmen rely so much in forming judgments about their government and industry, as the condition of their clothing. A badly-dressed people is taken to be, by the general verdict of mankind, an ill-governed people, or a people cursed with a poor soil or a bad climate. All statesmen in modern times profess, at least, to desire to make clothing easy to get for the mass of the population, and the only way to make clothing easy to get—now that the age of plunder has passed by—is to make it cheap. We venture to assert that the records of the last thousand years may be searched in vain for the notion that it improved men and women to make their clothing more difficult to procure. It is with Gen. Harrison an absolutely original idea. It derives, indeed, a touch of humor from the fact that it is contradicted by the personal experience of nearly every man and woman in the country.

There is nobody in the United States, outside of a small circle of great railroad, oil, coal, sugar, and lumber "kings," who is indifferent to the cost of his coat. To ninety-nine out of every hundred Americans it is a matter of serious concern, especially in the case

of a large family. A man wearing a dear coat—that is, a coat which he has had difficulty in paying for—always feels cheap, because the more his coat costs him the less of other necessities or pleasures of life is he able to procure. Nothing makes a man feel cheaper than an oppressive clothes bill. It means poorer lodgings, simpler food, fewer books, less travel, less amusements of every kind. It may not strike Gen. Harrison in this way, but to the mass of mankind any other view will seem almost comical. To "the toiling millions" perhaps the greatest blessing Providence could bestow would be a climate which made clothing unnecessary except for decency, or a product of some kind which could be used as clothing without any process of manufacture, so that it would cost little or nothing.

What was probably running in the Republican candidate's mind when he made the remark we have quoted, was the sad lot of the poorly-paid tailors and seamstresses who make up the cheaper kinds of clothing. We find that these tailors and tailoresses numbered in 1880 133,756. If we concede that they now number 200,000, it must be borne in mind, even if the tariff bettered their condition, which it does not, that it would be difficult to justify deliberately increasing the necessary expenses of 60,000,000 for the sake of a class so small. As a matter of fact, however, the wages of this class do not depend on the cost of the clothing. The cheap clothiers do not pay their tailors according to the prices they get for their garments. They pay them according to the number of tailors and tailoresses competing for the work to be done. What keeps these tailors and tailoresses poor is that there are ten of them competing for every bit of work that offers. Moreover, any argument for dear clothing for their benefit leaves out of sight the fact that they too need clothing. Possibly in Indiana the clothiers let their tailors have their own clothes for nothing; but in all other parts of the world the tailor has to pay for his clothes like any other man. If he makes them himself, he has to buy cloth and spend labor on it which would otherwise bring him in money. They cost him about the market price when they are made up. A dear coat depresses and cheapens him just as it does everybody else. A ragged or threadbare coat destroys his self-respect and keeps him away from church, or the park, and from picnics and parades, just as it does everybody else. His children suffer in mind and body from being out at elbows in winter just as the children of lawyers would; and the notion that great difficulty in getting a coat would lead to his moral or spiritual elevation would amuse him in a grim, melancholy way.

FIFTY YEARS OF AMERICAN ASTRO-NOMY.

At Williamstown, on the evening of June 25, a select audience gathered to hear the address of Professor Truman Henry Safford, commemorative of the erection in 1888 of the first

college observatory in the United States. It was fitting that Mr. David Dudley Field of New York should preside on this occasion, being himself the founder in 1869 of the Field Memorial Professorship of Astronomy, and the builder five years later of the Field Memorial Observatory of Williams College, where Professor Safford is the able director, and has made important contributions to exact astronomy. The Trustees of the College will publish entire, in permanent form, the rather difficult, not to say delicate, piece of historic research which Professor Safford has so capably concluded. Meantime, we attempt a brief abstract of it here.

Beginning with the publication of the "Principia" about 200 years ago by Newton, whose himself had a small observatory at Cambridge, but whose mighty genius was too fully occupied with great mathematical problems to permit his nightly watch of the heavens, the founding of the Greenwich Observatory first claimed attention. Navigation was then extremely dangerous; the only guides across the ocean were afforded by a knowledge of the motions of the heavenly bodies, and this could follow only the patient labors of astronomers. Charles II., with all his vices, possessed human sympathy enough to found an observatory to preserve his sailors from shipwreck.

Flamsteed, its director, the first Astronomer Royal, was succeeded by Halley, whose famous work on the orbit of the great comet of 1682, done to test and exemplify his master Newton's theory, had a direct bearing on the founding of American observatories, for the comet's second reappearance in 1835 furnished fresh proof of the law of universal gravitation. But Bradley, the next Astronomer Royal, made the Greenwich Observatory what it now is, the most prominent one, all told, in the world. So splendid was his work that Auwers, a most eminent living German astronomer, has spent years in recalculating and republishing the results. Then came Bliss, followed again by Maskelyne—who, not recognizing the possibility of "personal equation," discharged an assistant for noting time differently from himself—whose great service was the establishment of the "Nautical Almanac."

America had not yet declared her scientific independence. Thus these few things were of necessity premised about English astronomy, as our own was naturally based upon it. Our methods of scientific teaching were, in fact, thoroughly colonial; English text-books were reprinted for use in some of our colleges till within the second half of the present century. Practical necessities soon, however, required the employment of astronomical observers to settle boundary disputes, a confusion of landmarks having grown out of Old World habits. For example, inspection of a map of Massachusetts shows the extremely rough subdivision into counties and townships; Clarkburg is six miles long from east to west by two in breadth; Hancock fifteen long from north to south; Cheshire has twenty-two corners. Nor are State boundaries by any means plain and simple. There were disputes everywhere between the colonies. In 1767 the proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania sent to England for two astronomers to determine their common parallel. In response to this call came a former assistant to Bradley, Mason by name, and Dixon with him as assistant, the first trained observers ever employed in the United States, and whose work was the first piece of accurate measurement in this country. Practical astronomy of the kind brought here by Mason and Dixon is admirable training for young observers; we have since

had much, and it has afforded inestimable benefit in our scientific development. It may be easy to deal with mathematical formulas by a warm fire in a pleasant room, or even to watch the stars from a well-appointed observatory; but it is not so simple to cut one's way through the forest, spending the nights in observation and the days in moving on through the woods, carrying on horse or mule-back the most delicate instruments, when one must watch every step of the beast to see that the chronometers get no jar, and conducting withal the most refined calculations under conditions of great difficulty.

About this time, Rittenhouse, an American astronomer of Dutch descent, was making a reputation, and had built in 1769 a little observatory at Norriton, near Philadelphia, where he observed the transit of Venus of that year. Through Rittenhouse and his help to others in their observations, this important phenomenon added much to the astronomical impulse given by the labors of Mason and Dixon.

After the Revolution, the first great astronomer of America was Nathaniel Bowditch, born of a family of shipmasters in 1773, brought up and resident in America, author of the 'Practical Navigator,' which brought him a modest fortune, and finally the translator, editor, and publisher at his own expense of Laplace's great 'Traité de Mécanique Céleste.' Bowditch, dead in 1838, had a young friend, Benjamin Peirce, of profounder ability in mathematics than himself. Robert Treat Paine, an enthusiast and careful observer, went over sea and land to watch solar eclipses, and determined many longitudes and latitudes, especially in Massachusetts, which, along with Borden's triangulation of the State, gave a measure of the earth by no means seriously inaccurate.

Meanwhile, a general survey of the coasts was beginning under Hassler, a Swiss astronomer and geodesist, who trained an able set of assistants; also, the West Point School had educated many promising pupils, Graham among others. Yale College had procured a good telescope of five inches aperture as early as 1832. The year following occurred the great November shower of meteors. This, with the telescope, the teaching power of Prof. Olmsted, and later the return of Halley's comet, stirred much astronomical enthusiasm at Yale. But the telescope was prevented from doing much that it might have done by the absence of a suitable observatory; it was set up in the covered tower of a college building, and rolled upon casters over an unsteady floor, and young Mason alone made accurate observations with it. He, with Stanley, died early, while Loomis and Lyman are now aged professors at Yale; but Chauvenet, on the whole the most eminent, on leaving the College went into the service of the United States, and later removed to St. Louis, where he became the Chancellor of the Washington University. His 'Spherical and Practical Astronomy' is probably the best book of its class extant; it is quoted abroad as well as at home, and is an inexhaustible store of the best mathematics of the subject.

Thus, a half century ago, American practical astronomy was beginning to show itself. About Boston were a few skilled amateur observers, among them William Cranch Bond, with a little private observatory in Dorchester. In the Government service were skilled observers, but there was no permanent observatory at Washington or elsewhere in the country. The sailing of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition for a voyage around the world, on which it was intended to determine the longitudes of many places by observations of the moon, created the

necessity of like observations at known points on land. Gillis, a young lieutenant in the navy, was instructed to carry on such work, which he did from 1838 to 1842, his instruments being set up under a temporary shed on Capitol Hill at Washington. Bond did like work at Dorchester, Mass., but these astronomical beginnings, which led later to the establishment of observatories, were themselves subsequent to the building of the Williams College Observatory by Albert Hopkins.

In 1834 Hopkins visited Europe to procure philosophical apparatus, and to learn of foreign methods of investigation and teaching. At that time the impulse to scientific study which was contemporaneous with the French Revolution, and which had continued through the Napoleonic wars, had spread over nearly all Europe; even England had almost submitted to the Continental ways of studying mathematics. In Germany and the Baltic provinces of Russia there were astronomers—Bessel, Struve, Gauss, Argelander, Encke—who taught practical astronomy as a university discipline. In England, however, and perhaps France, it was not so; at Cambridge, mathematical instruction had, little by little, taken the form of training men to pass examinations in the mathematics, and the senior wranglership was the goal of the ablest men of the University. Our American courses were in part copied from the English courses of the last century—little by little modified to meet our circumstances; but their adaptation was not perfect, partly because no definite idea was dominant. An admirable helper to his more widely known brother, Mark Hopkins, who became the President of Williams College in 1836, Albert Hopkins furnished the new impulse which soon led to the building of the observatory. This he did chiefly at his own expense, even quarrying the needed stone with his own hands. A quaint little structure, it was well planned and built, and the Hopkins Observatory is still useful for the students in a variety of ways. Chiefly built in 1837, it was formally dedicated the 12th of June, 1838.

This first establishment of a permanent observatory is a striking landmark in the history of American astronomy. Hitherto all efforts to establish one had failed: people were too materially inclined to encourage so ideal a science. Even the practical uses were sometimes overlooked. A surveyor petitioned Congress for release from the requirement to run lines due north and south: he lost too much time in watching for the polar star in foggy evenings, and thought lines run in any direction would do as well, provided they were tolerably straight. Congress had sternly set its face against the establishment of a national observatory; the Coast Survey, indeed, receiving its appropriation on the express condition that no expenditure should be made for any such purpose. But Gilliss proved an effective astronomical missionary upon Capitol Hill, and at the conclusion of his observations there, Congress authorized the building of a "depot of charts and instruments"—the present Naval Observatory at Washington under a disguised name.

The next large observatory was founded at Cambridge, Mass. Peirce was greatly interested in the magnificent comet of 1843, and through his exertions, and those of the younger Bowditch, money was raised for a large telescope. This was completed in 1847, while the observatory itself was built the year before. Peirce soon after laid the scientific foundations of the 'American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac,' while Davis secured its practical realization, and the first volume was issued for the year 1855. Meanwhile, the Coast Survey had

gone steadily on, after Hassler's death, under Bache, a grandson of Franklin, from whom he inherited both scientific ability and executive and diplomatic capacity to a high degree.

On the completion of the quarter century terminating with the outbreak of the civil war, American practical astronomy had made great progress. There was what might be termed a school of astronomers, and numerous observatories, both public and private, though with far too little money for their maintenance in regular activity. There was also an astronomical journal of much merit, published by the zeal and munificence of its editor, Dr. Gould. Some of the early achievements of our astronomers have been of permanent use to the science, among them the chronograph, and the telegraphic method of determining longitudes. But while progress was most marked in branches of practical import, those who gladly took hold of more speculative problems were not lacking.

Professor Safford next dwelt at some length upon the life and work of the great optician, Alvan Clark, recounted in our columns on his death, about a twelvemonth since.

The last twenty-five years have brought much material advancement to American astronomy. It is hardly possible to go deeply into it; in many respects it repeats the earlier history. Observatories have been founded in new places, sometimes with the means for their maintenance, sometimes without. A few of the older ones have received large accessions of invested funds, notably the Harvard College Observatory, with an endowment exceeding half a million dollars. The ability and success of our younger astronomers in handling deep and difficult problems has been proved entirely adequate; the men have rarely been lacking, but only lately have they found education and encouragement. The public mind has changed its attitude towards astronomy: there is much pride in the achievements of astronomers. European scientists now come occasionally to see what is doing here, and the profession of an astronomer is a recognized career.

In estimating the relation of astronomy in the work of the college of the future, Professor Safford's paper was full of important suggestion. He with other eminent teachers believes in the disciplinary value of astronomy as an independent study. The best mathematical training deals with tangible objects—the abstraction should have a sensible basis. He would have the observation of the common phenomena of nature accompany the study of arithmetic and geometry in the common schools. The pupils should learn to watch the barometer and thermometer, sunset and sunrise, the phases of the moon, the motions of the clouds; should know the Pole star, Ursa Major, Orion, the Pleiades, Leo, the Scorpion; should learn to distinguish between the stars and the planets, to watch for the aurora borealis, to note the colors of the rainbow. The high school, or college preparatory school, should always have its telescope, and some simple means of accurately keeping time; a few notions of scientific astronomy should not fail to be inculcated. The college professor should have a variety of instruments, so that students may watch the heavens for themselves. To introduce this work may take a generation; but the colleges have begun to do their part in teaching the teachers, and courses in practical astronomy are now given in various institutions.

In a strong college, independent work to advance the science should be going on. Great telescopes are not a necessity; they often render the astronomer helpless. To provide for

the prosecution of original research, the instructor must have a certain amount of time free from other occupation, and such instruments supplied as will be most serviceable in the specific lines of investigation attempted.

Prof. Safford himself affords no mean in stance of the way in which such work should be carried on; and a score of our colleges would be highly benefited had they alumnii to follow the generous example of Mr. D. D. Field at Williams, and provide instrumental equipment where there is fair indication that it will not lie idle.

THE GETTYSBURG CELEBRATION.

GETTYSBURG, July 4.

THE reunion of veterans at Gettysburg in the interest of peace and reconciliation between the blues and grays has not been the success in point of numbers which it was expected to be. The promoters appear to have relied all along on an appropriation of \$25,000, or thereabouts, from Congress, to provide subsistence and lodging for those who came on. This expectation was disappointed, and only a very small sum was voted at the last moment, which was expended in tents. The consequence of this was that the work of preparation was postponed from day to day until it was too late to give the necessary notice to men scattered so widely over the continent as the veterans of the two armies are, or to make any suitable arrangements for their reception. Of course there are not many veterans so situated with regard to this world's goods as to make it easy for them to take a long journey at this season, and live even for three days at the costly abodes into which the Gettysburg hotels managed to turn themselves for three days. If even one-half the number which was looked for had actually come, they would have had to live out in the fields and beg their bread in the streets. As a matter of fact, I think 2,000 or 3,000 Union veterans, and 200 or 300 Confederates made their appearance. Many more of the latter would undoubtedly have come if they had had notice or any reasonable expectation of finding board and lodging during their stay.

Moreover, there is no indiscretion in saying that a good many Northern officers were kept away by the belief that the celebration this year was an unnecessary duplication of the reunion of last summer, at which the blues of the Army of the Potomac did all that need be done, or can be done, to assure the grays of cordial appreciation and good will; and that it was got up largely to support Gen. Sickles in his controversy with the friends of Gen. Meade, touching his (Sickles's) conduct on the left wing, on the second day of the battle. As a matter of fact, Gen. Sickles was the most prominent figure on the Union side in the proceedings on last Sunday and Monday, and after him came Gen. Butterfield, who was Meade's chief of staff, and contends that he gave Meade advice on the third day, which he did not take, but which, had he taken it, would have ended the war. Of course, if Meade made a huge mistake in not listening to Butterfield, it strengthens the theory that Sickles was right in disregarding Meade's orders in the selection of his second position in the battle.

Anyhow, the proceedings this week centred in these two gentlemen, but only brought very few other distinguished Unionist officers on the ground. Governor Beaver of Pennsylvania was there, so was Gen. Barlow, and Gens. Hunt and Robinson, and Slocum and Doubleday

and Crawford; but if there were any others known to fame, they escaped my observation. On the Confederate side the only two men of mark present were Longstreet and Gordon, but they were probably the two of all the Southern survivors of the great contest whom Northerners are most eager to see. On Longstreet years are beginning to tell; his hair and beard are almost white, but the lines of vigor in his face are still nearly as visible as they can ever have been, in spite of the air of great serenity which has settled in his eyes, and the stiffness which has begun to mark his gait. Gordon, on the other hand, who, with his lithe figure and alert movements, his eagle face, and flashing eye, does not look over fifty, is still, as he has always been in both appearance and manner, the type of the dashing Southern soldier. His speech was both eloquent and earnest and gracefully delivered, and was listened to with visible pride and pleasure by his wife, whose expression of mingled gentleness and dignity was just what the occasion called for in any one who represented Southern women to an audience assembled to hear of peace and reconciliation.

Mr. George William Curtis's address, it must be said, was worthy of what the celebration was originally intended to be—that is, a larger and more representative assemblage than that which listened to him. His tribute to Confederate valor and the purity of Confederate motives, delivered with great vehemence, was all that any Southerner could have desired, and brought a genuine glow of pleasure over Longstreet's tranquil face, and won vigorous applause from his sinewy hands, and it prepared the way well for the subsequent plea for the establishment of the suffrage at the South on a better and more republican basis. The whole speech, in fact, is, I think, pretty sure to circulate widely at the South and be pondered fruitfully. None of its own orators has paid a more splendid tribute to Pickett and his column who delivered the final charge on the last day of the fight, or has done greater justice to the efforts the South is making to recover from all her misfortunes and mistakes.

To those who find their historic sense gratified or stimulated by the sight of fields on which great human controversies have been settled by the sword, the field of Gettysburg must for ever remain one of the most interesting spots in the world. What it needs now of all things is a respectable guide-book. The Century Co. has issued one by Gen. Doubleday—good as far it goes—but it is a mere military summary of the events of the three days. The others, which attempt to give detailed narratives, are beneath contempt. What with balderdash, cheap sentiment, and attempts at lurid description, they may fairly be called a discredit to the country. One of them seriously maintains that God Almighty created Little Round Top expressly to furnish a position in which Meade's army might save the Union. No stranger who took up this rubbish would suppose that the army which won the battle had stood higher in point of intelligence than any the world has seen except the German. Of the kind of material which was to be found in the ranks, I met with a striking illustration in walking with Gen. Barlow over the ground on which he received his wound on the first day of the fight. We found a gentleman there examining the spot, who told us he was a private in a Connecticut regiment on that unlucky day, and had been wounded and carried to a house hard by. He is now a professor in a prominent college. The whole field of the operations in the three days is being covered with

monuments indicating the various positions held by the different regiments and batteries on different days, the losses they sustained, the spots in which distinguished officers were killed and wounded, and so forth. They are, of course, of varying degrees of taste, and I heard of some which were assailed for inaccuracy or pretence; but, on the whole, they express a happy thought, and future generations will be grateful for them. I think they are the first attempt in the history of war to preserve the memory of the rank and file on the very spot which their valor and endurance has made famous. When all that are proposed have been erected, there will be about 600 of them, but we trust they will not justify the cant phrase by making Gettysburg a "Mecca." The guide-books and more talkative veterans have got hold of this "Mecca" idea now, and one hears it at every turn; and to any one who has seen the squalid crowd who go to the original "Mecca," and thinks what that "Mecca" is, it suggests sad poverty in terms of reverence.

The field will, however, never be illustrated and marked as it ought to be until the heroic deeds of the Confederates are also commemorated in stone or brass, like those of their Northern foemen. Without this even the Northern record will not be complete, for the full measure of Northern pluck and bottom cannot be presented without some account of the force by which the Northern positions were assailed in the last two days of the battle. It is to be hoped this defect will be supplied by the South before long, both as a tribute to its gallant dead, and as a final acknowledgment that all bitterness has passed away from the memory of the struggle. Something towards this end was done at the blue meeting last year, when it was voted to erect a monument to "American Valor" on the spot where Armistead fell, with in the Union lines, at the head of Pickett's charge. I doubt much whether any Northern man or woman now visits and studies the field without wishing to share in the glory of that splendid feat of arms—that is, to claim as countrymen the soldiers who made up Pickett's column. One easily sees that it is this which takes most hold of every visitor's imagination after he has become familiarized with all the varying features of the fight. I do not recall anything in military history which can quite match it, among even such exploits as the march of the English column at Fontenoy, the rush of Macdonald's column across the plain at Wagram, the crowning of the heights of Albuera by the British in Spain, or the attack on St-Privat by the Prussian Guards in 1870. No cavalry exploit can be compared to it—neither the charge of the Light Brigade nor that of the French Cuirassiers at Reichshofen. In a cavalry charge there is exhilaration in the swift motion through the air, and no strain of exertion on heart or lungs, and the excitement or agony of expectation is sure to be brief. But Pickett's men, laden with arms and ammunition, had to make their way under a burning July sun, across fields heavy with grass or grain, over 1,200 yards—fully equal to a mile on the high road—under the shells and grape shot of 120 guns, and towards the end the pitiless pelting of 20,000 rifles, leaving heaps of dead at every step, without shrinking, and they carried their flag into the enemy's lines. No American who admires human courage and endurance can walk over the ground they covered with their dead without feeling proud that this continent has produced such men.

E. L. G.

MINISTERS AND SOVEREIGN IN GERMANY.

BERLIN, JUNE 20, 1888.

GERMANY has been passing through a political crisis which will, directly or indirectly, affect the interpretation of the sovereign's position towards the Ministry, and the responsibility of the Ministers to the Crown. In periods of intense political feeling there is a rapid development, if not of institutions, at least of the interpretation of relations already existing.

The two factors which brought about the present political issues were the death of the Emperor William, and the accession of the liberal-minded and progressive Frederick III. to the throne. Since the dissolution of the Parliament of 1878, a conservative reaction has set in, having its source in the overwhelming will and absolute authority of the Imperial Chancellor. His ascendancy over the mind of the Emperor William in all political questions, whether of external or internal policy, cannot be questioned. There has been the gradual growth of ministerial independence, but subordinate to the controlling mind of the Minister President. Twenty-four colleagues in office have risen to power and fallen during his sway, and it is not strange that any interference with a rule exercised so long should be resisted as a violation of his prerogatives. Frederick the Third's accession to the throne was marked by the issue of two significant documents—his imperial rescript to the people and his letter to Prince Bismarck, in which he announced the principles that would characterize his reign. They indicated the possession of distinct views and a royal will to rule. The publication of the latter document inspired hope in the minds of all who desired to see Germany a constitutional State in which the rights of the people and the prerogatives of the Crown should be found consistent. The letter to Prince Bismarck seemed to indicate a new era. The past was not criticised, but the reform and simplification of the administrative system were stated to be necessary.

It cannot be supposed that Prince Bismarck, proud of the absolute system that had grown up under his rule, looked with pleasure upon the introduction of new forces which should disturb the old. English parliamentary government and ministerial responsibility are alike odious in conservative circles in Germany. It is necessary to take these views into consideration in order to understand the successive outbursts of feeling which swept over Germany during the reign of Frederick III. To this must be added the chauvinism, which is in part the product of German victories in the last war, which in popular belief causes German greatness to tower above that of all other lands. Hence foreign influence is regarded with aversion. This will explain the national indignation which flamed out fiercely at the proposed marriage of the Princess Victoria and Prince Alexander of Battenberg. One not familiar with the tone of the German press at that time can form no conception of the national self-consciousness and childish folly to which expression was given. The Empress Victoria was the object against which shafts dimly disguised were directed. The Cologne *Gazette*, the ablest and usually one of the most judicious of the press, spoke of the influence in politics of certain ladies of high rank; the "English influence" at court was bitterly attacked, and the visit of the Queen of England was deprecated as adding her royal influence in favor of an unpopular marriage. The marriage was characterized as a marriage of interest on the part of Prince Alexander to

which he was otherwise indifferent. The respect for the Emperor was impaired by representing him as having so weak a will as to be ruled by the Empress. "The German people desires to be ruled by kings, not women." The marriage would result in a double war with France and Russia. On this feverish state of the public mind the resignation of the Chancellor, the creator of German unity, whose love for his fatherland would not permit him to be responsible for the unpatriotic course which was determined on at court, was reported. He alone loved his country better than all else. Why should a maiden's heart stand in the way of the national good? Public meetings were called and addresses prepared to avert the threatened resignation of Prince Bismarck.

It can now hardly be believed that the issue raised at the time of the Battenberg affair was never a real one, but was used by the Chancellor for political effect, with the design of making his position impregnable and his authority dominant in the national mind, in order to discredit in advance the liberal programme of the Emperor, and any court influence which he might not be able to combat directly. It is the misfortune of Germany at the present time that opposition to any measure of the Government is regarded as unpatriotic and subversive of the peace of the State. Upon authority which I cannot doubt, I believe that at the first discussion of the proposed marriage between the Emperor and Prince Bismarck, the matter as a political question was settled, and that the Emperor accepted the views of the Chancellor, and the question ceased to be one of Government concern. There is reason to believe that the Emperor proposed at first to raise Prince Alexander of Battenberg to the rank of prince in Prussia, and assign him to a high military command—an action which, in connection with his union with the Princess Victoria, would have made his subsequent acceptance of the throne of Bulgaria impossible. The whole machinery of the Government press was set in motion to discredit the marriage. The ruthless criticism of the imperial family was a severe blow at the dignity of the Crown. Perhaps never before in Prussian history have the views of a sovereign been depicted in so unfavorable a light, with so little cause. Prince Bismarck, in maintaining his own position, was ready to sacrifice the dignity of his imperial master and his family. Such an offence cannot be easily atoned for. The anti-English sentiments of the Crown Prince—the present Emperor—were thrown into the scale to contrast with the supposed liberal sentiments of his father. The result of this first crisis was to establish Prince Bismarck more firmly than ever as the support and "standard bearer" of German nationality, as he was called by the Crown Prince Wilhelm in his unlucky after-dinner speech.

A second crisis, less intense than the first, arose in connection with the bestowal of certain decorations. The first order conferred by the Emperor Frederick, the highest order of the Prussian Crown, that of the Black Eagle, was bestowed upon the Empress and upon Dr. Friedberg, Minister of Justice, his former teacher and an eminent jurist, a man of Jewish descent. This was followed by the bestowal of numerous decorations upon high officials, elevations to the nobility, and by the pardon of numerous political and military offenders which usually accompanies the opening of a new reign. The purpose in the gift of these orders, to recognize eminent men of all shades of political opinion, soon encountered the opposition of the Cabinet. The exercise of personal prerogatives of the Crown which had never been questioned, was suddenly met by the

threatened resignation of the Ministry in case certain orders were conferred. Von Foreckenbeck, the chief Bürgermeister of Berlin, a member of the Fortschrittspartei, received a decoration, but accompanied by the statement that it was for services in behalf of the sufferers from the floods, in order to rob it of all political significance, and to show that opponents of the Government, however prominent, must have other claims for recognition. Professor Virchow received the Order of the Red Eagle of the second class, but the bestowal of certain other orders encountered the opposition of the Cabinet. It was proposed to confer a decoration upon a former member of the Reichstag whose sympathies were strongly liberal, although he was not a member of the Extreme Left. He had been once tried for libel against Prince Bismarck and acquitted. On the principle that you never forgive the man you have injured, a crisis arose in which the resignation of the entire Ministry was threatened, and the proposed honor was abandoned.

These ghosts of discord were no sooner laid than a question of less general interest brought about the Cabinet crisis which resulted in the retirement of Herr von Puttkamer, the Minister of the Interior and Vice-President of the Ministry of State. No Minister of the entire Cabinet was personally so obnoxious, but he had held office for nine years, and was apparently superior to every attack. He was also connected by family ties with Prince Bismarck. He had signalized himself when a young man as Landrath, by ordering all office-holders to support actively the Government candidates, and by summoning to trial all whose self-respect did not permit them to obey his unauthorized demands. The effort to reform German spelling which was associated with his name was successful in the schools, but encountered the opposition of the Government, which forbade its use in official documents. Nothing could exceed the superciliousness of the Minister's bearing towards representatives of the people who ventured to criticise his measures in the German Diet or in the Prussian Parliament. The only defeat which the Government suffered during the winter was over Puttkamer's bill accentuating the provisions of the law against the Socialists, adding expatriation to the penalties which the Government could inflict. As this law is administered now, residence in any German State of a suspected person becomes practically impossible. The Socialists were able to show that Puttkamer's secret paid agents in Switzerland were criminal characters, perpetuating their term of office by information secured at Socialist meetings over which they presided, and of which they were the moving spirits, and in one case supporting entirely a Socialistic newspaper for circulation in Germany—in short, they were *agents provocateurs* of the very movement which they had been sent to aid in suppressing. The sworn evidence of the Zürich official which confirmed these charges produced such a sensation that the National-Liberals and Catholics united to oppose the expatriation clause of the Government bill, for which a simple act continuing the present law for two years was passed. The Minister's position, however, was shaken by a parliamentary investigation of several elections, in one of which his own brother was a candidate, in which he had thrown the Government influence in his brother's favor.

The bill for prolonging the legislative period in Prussia to five years had already passed, and had been for several weeks before the Emperor for his signature. He had signed a similar law which had been passed by the cartel-parties in

the Reichstag, but saw grave reasons against extending the law to Prussia, owing to the difference in the system of election. At this time, on the last day of the session, a powerful party attack was made by the Freisinnig Deputy Richter upon the whole ministerial policy. His speech was not confined to the question of freedom of elections, but he characterized the attitude of the Cabinet towards the Emperor in all questions that had arisen since the beginning of his reign; it had attempted to coerce the will of the sovereign by the threat to resign; it had substituted ministerial rule for royal rule; it had lashed popular sentiment to fury against the royal family in the proposed marriage of the Princess Victoria after the question had been settled. In place of sham constitutionalism with a ministerial dictatorship, he would prefer to return to absolutism. Never before had the power of the Ministers exceeded that of the Crown and of the representative of the people. The purpose of the Crown to rule in consonance with the will of the people is impossible with ministerial absolutism. No words or epithets were spared which could irritate the Government. The speech was abusive, and transgressed what we should consider all parliamentary bounds, but in substance was irrefutably true. The Emperor addressed a letter to Minister von Puttkamer, in which he announced his purpose, in connection with the publication of the law extending the legislative period, to issue a royal rescript forbidding all interference by Government officials with the freedom of elections, and emphasizing respect for the popular will. In this emergency the Minister invoked the aid of Prince Bismarck, who returned from Varzin to urge the Emperor to postpone the publication of the law in order to enable Von Puttkamer to vindicate his conduct in reference to elections. The Emperor found the excuse unsatisfactory, and informed him that his interpretation of his duties did not consist with the Emperor's views of his duties as a Minister of the Crown. Hereupon the Minister tendered his resignation, which was immediately accepted. The energetic action of the Emperor was apparently a surprise to Prince Bismarck, who did not anticipate his colleague's retirement.

But contest, however noble, waged by a dying Emperor, must cease with his life. The impending death of the Emperor caused men to shape their course according to views which would soon be controlling. The opinions of the Crown Prince were pronounced, and no one could doubt what policy would prevail upon his accession. No party ventured to form itself against the mighty influence of the Chancellor and the prospective ascendancy of conservative views in the person of William II. The new Emperor has issued his proclamation, first to the army, and secondly to his people. To the army he said: "We belong to one another, I and the army; we were born for one another, and we shall remain united by an indissoluble bond, whether by the will of God we have before us peace or tempest." The address to the people is modest and devout. The re-establishment of Prince Bismarck as the supreme director of affairs is the first result of the death of the Emperor Frederick. The possession of a positive will and positive views by William II, will in time find expression, possibly independent of his chief Minister. Private and public utterances concerning the national loss are very different. Patriotism induces the Government press to speak warmly of the noble, knightly character of the late Emperor, but I have not noticed an expression of public misfortune that he did not live to carry out his views. The Conservatives and those who,

with William II, "conceive of the German people as an army marching to the assault," believe that the peaceful spirit of the late Emperor was not suited to the present emergency; that an alert, assertive military spirit is demanded to defend the frontiers and maintain German supremacy. The Emperor Frederick would never have adopted an aggressive policy, but his spirit was essentially that of a soldier, and no one can doubt that the military glory of Germany would have been safe in his hands. Others saw in the ascendancy of liberal and humane views a severe shock to the political system which, under Bismarck, is fast becoming among the people a tradition. The advent of new ideas would introduce weakness into the fabric of the State, and the solid social order would be destroyed, and in its place views of individual liberty and private rights would supplant the conception of the splendid structure of a consolidated monarchy. Socialism, not French republican ideas, was to be feared. Against the latter, national patriotism was a sufficient defence.

The Catholic press has steadily supported the prerogatives of the Emperor against the tyranny of ministerial rule. The Catholics, Jews, Poles, and South Germans all lament the loss of a humane and tolerant ruler, and, somewhat strangely, the Freisinnig press has been strongest in its support of the rights of the Crown against those of the Ministers. During the past winter, in the Reichstag and in the Prussian Parliament, both Ministers von Puttkamer and Von Goslar, the Cultus Minister, have said defiantly: "We are the servants of the Crown; we are responsible to the sovereign alone, and not to Parliament." The Conservative press has represented ministerial responsibility, as it exists in England, as the greatest foe to a stable government and a commanding foreign policy. England's constant change of Ministers has destroyed her influence in European politics. In Germany, we have had during the reign of the Emperor Frederick the spectacle of Ministers asserting their responsibility to the Crown, and their independent responsibility over against the Crown. The supremacy of the Chancellor, by absorbing an authority over all his colleagues, extending through every bureau of administration, bears certainly a relation like that of the masters of the palace of the Merovingian kings. Criticism of his measures by the interpretation of the courts becomes easily libel, so that the acts of the great Minister in his height of power are almost as inviolable as the person of the King.

The reign of the Emperor Frederick lasted ninety-nine days. It will always be associated with the lofty purpose which marked its beginning and the heroism and pathos which attended its close. It is interesting, in this review of his short reign, to recall the principles with which he ascended the throne, which were stated in his famous letter to Prince Bismarck. It was written in San Remo, and communicated before publication to the Prince when the Ministry met the new Emperor in Leipzig. The letter shows that the years of waiting had been years of preparation for his duties as ruler; it exhibits a remarkable grasp of the province of government, and a statesmanlike view of political questions upon whose successful solution the future of Germany will depend. The constitution and rights of all the allied States of the Empire, as well as those of the Reichstag, are to be conscientiously regarded, but a like respect for the prerogatives of the Crown is demanded. At the same time, it must be considered that the province of these mutual rights is to promote the public welfare, which remains the supreme law of the land,

Newly arising and undoubted national needs must always be fully satisfied.

"It is my will that the principle of religious toleration, which has been sacredly guarded for centuries by my family, shall extend to the protection of all my subjects, to whatever religious community or confession they may belong. Every one of them stands equally near to my heart, and all have alike in days of danger proved their full devotion." "I shall warmly support so far as lies in my power all efforts adapted to elevate the prosperity of the various classes of society, to reconcile conflicting interests, and to moderate unavoidable misunderstandings, without arousing the expectation that it is possible by the intervention of the State to put an end to all social evils." "I regard the fostering care which should be devoted to the education of the growing youth as intimately associated with social questions. A higher education must constantly be made accessible to wider circles, yet on the other hand grave dangers are created by half culture by which claims in life are awakened which the resources of the nation cannot satisfy, similarly, a one-sided effort for increased knowledge must not disregard the proper task of education."

Local self-government, economy of administration, the reduction of taxation so far as it was practicable, and the simplification of the bureaus of administration were recommended. The letter closes with the significant words: "I mindful of the splendor of illustrious deeds, I shall be content if in the future it can be said of my reign, it was a benefit to my people, useful to my country, and a blessing to the realm." It is impossible not to admire a spirit which conceived of its work in so brave and hopeful a way amid so many opposing forces. I cannot believe it would have suffered final defeat.

W. T. BRYANT.

TWO SKELETON CITIES

GRANADA, JUNE 10.

Spain has been hitherto outside of the regular current of tourist travel in Europe, but every year adds to the number of sight-seers, and an unmistakable sign of its growing popularity with the travelling public may be found in the fact that the publishers of the famous Baedeker guides have sent out an agent to prepare a volume on Spain—partly also, no doubt, for the convenience of the German commercial travellers, who are invading Spain at present by the hundred, and are to be seen at all the hotels. Apart from the interesting sights which it contains, Spain offers unusual facilities for a "round trip," for, with few exceptions, the most attractive points are grouped in a circle along the principal lines of railway and steamboat travel. Starting at Burgos, the tourist whose time is limited to six or eight weeks, proceeds to Valladolid and Madrid, thence to Toledo, Cordova, Seville, and Cadiz, thence by steamer to Tangier, Gibraltar, and Malaga, thence to Granada, Valencia, and Barcelona, and finally, to complete the circle, back to France via Saragossa. Village life may be easily studied by stopping over at some of the smaller stations, and even this is hardly necessary, so far as the populace is concerned, for on the religious holidays, which are as numerous as Sundays, all the villagers and peasants visit the cities in their best clothes, ready to be inspected and to inspect you in return.

The three cities at which a stop of at least a week each should be made are Madrid, Seville, and Granada; and if the tour is made in spring, Seville should be visited before Granada, because it is a much warmer place, many Sevillans, in fact, going to Granada in summer for fresh air. I am not of the opinion of those who advise tourists to waste as little time as possible in Madrid. The capital has fewer

architectural and antiquarian attractions than such places as Toledo and Cordova, but it has the finest picture gallery—one of the best in Europe, full of gems—the streets are more animated, both day and night, than elsewhere, the promenades more frequented, and the women not inferior in beauty to those in Andalusia. For Americans, Madrid has an additional attraction in the hospitality of the present Minister and his wife, at whose Monday receptions and afternoon teas one has an opportunity to meet the best society in Madrid and observe its ways. The presence of the Minister's niece, a Virginian, prevents the Spaniards from being too conceited regarding the beauty of their women. In much frequented cities the number of Americans may make them a burden to the diplomatic representatives of the country, but in Madrid they are comparatively rare, and therefore always welcome at the Minister's house. As Mr. Curry had planned a visit to Toledo with his family, I prolonged my stay in the capital a day in order to have the pleasure and advantage of their company and that of the Secretary of the Legation, Mr. Strobel, who lately distinguished himself by amicably arranging the Morocco difficulty, and who knows Toledo as well as a native.

As Toledo, though visited by all foreigners, has not a single tolerable hotel, tourists are in the habit of going there in the morning from Madrid, and returning in the evening, which leaves them only about four hours to see the place and its wonders. It is much better to take the evening train to Toledo, and spend the night at a *casa de huéspedes*, or boarding-house, kept by two ancient dames, where one can find a tolerable amount of comfort and fair meals. We chose this plan, and did not regret it, although the noise in the narrow streets, where a whisper sounds like a shout and a footstep like a horse's gallop, precluded the idea of sleep, while the beds seemed to have become the last refuge of bloodthirsty inquisitors transformed by metempsychosis into their entomological equivalents. The only serious disadvantage of arriving at Toledo in the evening is that one misses the general sight of the hill-town on approaching it; but this can be easily compensated for by ascending the hill across the river on the following day, and thence enjoying the bird's-eye view of this fortress-city, which was strong enough at one time to withstand a four years' siege, as one can readily believe on noting its commanding, inaccessible site on a hill, surrounded by high walls and by the river Tagus, which sweeps around it in a semicircular curve.

The omnibus from the station, after crossing the old bridge and passing through the Puerta del Sol, once the only entrance to the city, plunges recklessly into a maze of streets so narrow that there is hardly room for the few people in them to pass by without being ground to powder, and one begins to speculate what would happen if it should meet another wagon. But this fear is idle, for the railway omnibus is the only vehicle in this town of 20,000 inhabitants, traffic being carried on chiefly with donkeys and mules, as elsewhere in Spain, and as it doubtless was at the time when Toledo was the capital of the country and had ten times as many inhabitants as at present. The houses remain, but in a more or less dilapidated state, and what one sees is merely "the skeleton of the ancient city, the necropolis of three empires." The flesh and blood, the people, are gone, never to return, and I actually believe there are to-day more dogs than human beings in Toledo. One need only walk for ten minutes along these narrow, tortuous streets to realize the absurdity of the sentimental complaints

that the capital should have been transferred from Toledo to Madrid. Such streets, doubtless, are of great advantage in so far as they keep out the scorching rays of the sun, but they would be woefully inadequate to sustain the traffic of a modern capital, all the more as most of them run up and down hill. As, moreover, the scenery from Toledo is by no means equal to that at Madrid, while the climate is quite as trying—as scorching in summer and as cold in winter—and the streets more dusty, owing to the scarcity of water, it seems time to protest against the habitual scolding of tourists for devoting a whole week to Madrid and only a day to Toledo. All that the ordinary tourist cares for in Toledo—the cathedral, the Alcazar, the gates and churches, the remains of the Roman circus—can be seen in a day, and some little time will even perhaps remain for visiting the place where the famous "Toledo blades" are manufactured for the army, at the rate of about 3,000 a year; they are, however, made of imported metal, and said to be inferior to the ancient original article.

As I am not writing a guide-book, I shall not attempt to describe the famous Toledo Cathedral, all the more as I find in my own experience that the most vivid descriptions of architectural monuments make but a confused impression on the mind until one has seen them with his own eyes. How much there is to be seen in this cathedral may be inferred from the fact that Señor Parro, author of a work of 1,550 pages on Toledo, devotes as many as 745 to the cathedral! Special admirers of ecclesiastic sculpture and architectural details have here a week's study and enjoyment laid out for them; but the relish for much of it must be an "acquired taste," and I fancy that much of the pleasure given to Christians by mediaeval cathedrals might be traced by a psychologist to various religious associations rather than to purely aesthetic sources. The priests thoroughly understood the art of blending artistic with religious emotions, and thereby increasing their power over the populace—very much as Wagner intensifies the interest in his music by means of his poetry and scenic accessories. But times have changed, and the power of the priests is gone—in Spain at any rate. The churches are attended by mere handfuls of people, mostly women, or a few men of the lower classes; the monasteries have been suppressed; and no outward respect is shown to the priests—no one bows or runs to kiss their hand as formerly; while there is much scoffing and "irreverence" among all classes. Indeed, competent observers agree that the pendulum has swung from the extreme of bigotry and fanaticism to the opposite extreme of scepticism and indifference. Toledo, which was once the chief seat of the Inquisition, is still the great stronghold of the priesthood. Here lives the primate, second in dignity to the King alone; but he no longer has the power to impose a fine of 2,000 maravedis on kings for not attending service. Could he at present impose proportional fines on all Spanish "Catholics" who neglect to attend service, he would be the richest man in the world.

Toledo is such a labyrinthine, dreary, desolate place, its deserted streets so suggestive of Pompeii, that, notwithstanding its numerous art treasures, I fancy that few tourists are sorry to leave it after seeing the principal attractions. It is customary to return to Madrid and take the train the following day for Cordova, but it is possible to save a day by going from Toledo to Castillejos, and waiting there about five hours for the night train to Cordova. I chose this plan, and thus had an opportunity to see

what sort of a life people lead at a small station consisting of two or three houses. A very quiet life it is, the only "events" being the arrival of the trains, which are rather frequent. One freight train contained several carloads of soldiers, while on several other cars were a dozen peculiarly shaped high wooden boxes, through the chinks in which small boys peeped with an expression of awe. I thought that possibly a band of robbers had been caught and boxed, and that the soldiers were their escort, but on following the example of the boys I found that the boxes contained Andalusian bulls for the ring in Madrid. Small a station as Castillejos is, it has its two well-armed and well-dressed civil guards, and its beggar. The beggar accosted me only once, and when I paid no attention to him he stalked away proudly, lit a cigarette, and paid no further attention to me. Afterwards I saw him at the buffet buying his supper. I followed his example, and succeeded in securing three hard-boiled eggs, bread, and a bottle of wine.

At eleven o'clock the train arrived, and when I awoke in the morning, I was in Andalusia, the "garden of Spain," famed for its fragrant orange groves, its wine, women, and song, its dances, its gayety, its festivals, its Moorish architecture, its "Murillos," living and painted, and its perennial blue sky. After fasting so long among the arid, treeless hills of northern Spain, it was a perfect picnic for the eyes to feast once more on green meadows, groups of trees, and a tropical luxuriance of vegetation. When the train entered the station, we found it crowded with an eagerly expectant crowd, and a brass band struck up a lively tune. Who had told them I was coming? But no; nobody paid me the slightest attention except a porter who wanted to carry my valise. The crowd and the music were intended for greater men—for a group of bull-fighters, who soon emerged from a first-class car and were at once greeted by the authorities and surrounded by admirers. Subsequently I repeatedly found a group of people waiting in front of their hotel to catch a glimpse of them. These bull-butchers, although the most vulgar-looking and brutal persons to be seen in Spain, and although despised by refined people, are worshipped by the masses with an ardor hardly credible unless one has witnessed its manifestations with his own eyes. If you ask a boy what he intends to be when he grows up, he will instantly reply, "Un torero." Biographies of these butchers are sold in front of the bull-rings, and there is hardly a window in the town where their photographs are not exposed for sale, together with pictures of the fights in every stage—pictures which also "adorn" fans and handkerchiefs.

At first sight Cordova does not belie its Andalusian title, by right of which it ought to be animated and gayly decked out with trees and flowers. The hotel omnibus passes a fine public garden and a number of new houses in the outskirts. But as soon as the city proper is entered, the tourist becomes aware that Cordova is still what Gautier called it half a century ago—a city of whose body "il n'en reste plus maintenant que le squelette blanchi et calciné." We have entered another skeleton city—a term the more applicable from the prevalent habit of whitewashing all the walls and all the houses. The same narrow, dark, tortuous streets as in Toledo, and equally deserted. Mr. Augustus Hare says of these streets that "they have a more thoroughly African appearance than those of any other town in Spain. One threads one's way between interminable whitewashed walls, their scanty windows guarded by heavy iron bars, over a pebbly pavement so rough that it is like the

bed of a torrent littered with straw from the burdens of innumerable donkeys." This is quite graphic; but what shall we say of the impudence of Théophile Gautier, who wrote exactly the same thing in the same words many years before Hare?—"Cordoue a l'aspect plus africain que toute autre ville d'Andalousie; ses rues, ou plutôt ses ruelles, dont le pavé tumultueux ressemble au lit de torrents à sec, toutes chonchées de la paille courte qui s'échappe de la charge des ânes, n'ont rien qui rappelle les mœurs et les habitudes de l'Europe. L'on y marche entre d'interminables murailles couleur de craie, aux rares fenêtres, treillissées de grilles et de barreaux," etc. I find in Gautier's otherwise most charming "Voyage en Espagne" numerous plagiarisms of this sort from the works of his successors, who, however, have duly punished him by rarely, if ever, mentioning his name. Washington Irving was another sinner like Gautier, having surreptitiously anticipated many things to be found as original matter in subsequent tourist and guide-books. All of which argues a sad state of literary morality in the good old times.

No longer enjoying Mr. Strobel's erudite guidance, and having an invincible prejudice against professional guides (except when limited time makes them a necessary evil), I studied the map of Cordova, and resolved to find the great mosque alone. But in five minutes I was as hopelessly lost as if I had descended in a balloon into the midst of an Alaskan forest. When I began to ask my way, it was amusing to note the perplexed expression on the faces of the Cordovese. They knew exactly where I wanted to go, but how to direct me was the puzzle. It was "no go." Finally, I gave a boy a copper to take me to a place where I could buy a pocket compass. I might have had him take me to the mosque quite as well, but my spirit was aroused, and I resolved to find that mosque alone, even if I perished in the attempt. With map and compass in hand it was easy enough to walk straight up to it, and in the same manner I found my way about the city subsequently as infallibly as if I had been a Cunarder in mid-Atlantic bound for New York or Queenstown. And the mosque was quite worth the trouble I had taken to find it. Notwithstanding that much of its glory is gone (thanks to the stupidity of the bishop who marred the central portion by building a church in it, thereby reducing the number of columns from 1,400 to 800, and partly destroying its sublime proportions), it made a deeper impression on me than any building I had ever seen, excepting the Doges' Palace in Venice. It was a sensible idea on the part of the Moorish builders to seek to attain sublimity by lateral expansion and distance, by length and width, rather than by height (as in Gothic cathedrals), and by the superabundance of columns. The disadvantage of the Gothic style is, that height can only be appreciated amid great physical discomfort and straining of the neck muscles, while the beauties of the ceiling can only be appreciated with the aid of an opera-glass. The Cordovan Mosque is quite low, but if the original ceiling remained, and the central columns were restored, I am sure this would not be felt as a disadvantage.

I cannot refrain from once more referring to Théophile Gautier and his influence. Concerning the impression made by this many-columned mosque, he says: "Il vous semble plutôt marcher dans une forêt plafonnée que dans un édifice; de quelque côté que vous vous tourniez, votre œil s'égare à travers des allées de colonnes qui se croisent et s'allongent à perte de vue, comme une végétation de marbre spontanément jaillie du sol." Possibly Gautier was not the

first who compared these columns to a marble forest, but I suspect he was, as the comparison did not strike me as very pertinent on the spot. Nevertheless, it was eagerly taken up by all subsequent writers, and underwent a regular evolution in specificity, so to speak. De Amicis, for instance, says: "Imagine a forest, fancy yourself in the thickest portion of it, and that you can see nothing but the trunks of trees. So, in this mosque, on whatever side you look, the eye loses itself among the columns. It is a forest of marble whose confines one cannot discover" (5). And Mr. E. E. Hale caps the climax by saying regarding this "forest of marble": "It is not hard to persuade yourself that you hear the wind, as you might in a forest at home."

The costliness of the "marble forest," and the other evidences of wealth in the mosque, though but a shadow of what they were once, almost convince one that there is little exaggeration in the assertion of the old Arabian historian that Cordova, about a thousand years ago, was the most important city in Europe, containing a million inhabitants, 600 inns, 300 mosques, and 900 baths. It has now about 50,000 inhabitants and one public bath. And this change is due to the influence of the priests who expelled the industrious Moors and Jews, and compelled them to seek new homes in Granada and Morocco. The influence of the Moors, however, has remained in the character of the streets and the houses, with their cool inner courts or patios. In a walled town, where space is very valuable, only a great inherited love of gardens, fountains, flowers, and fresh air could induce the inhabitants to sacrifice so much space to these patios.

I was fortunate in arriving at Cordova during its principal festival week, even though I had to pay double price at the hotel, and to consider myself lucky in getting a room at all. The festival consisted in illumination with colored lights of the alameda, or public promenade, both sides of which were lined with booths containing chiefly toys for children. At one end were some cheap shows and some restaurants, in front of which a kind of crullers were fried in olive oil. Behind the booths was a donkey market, but the purchasers seemed to be scarce, being probably frightened away by the frightful braying choruses; and towards evening the roads were crowded with the un-sold donkeys returning home. The seats along the alameda (for which two cents is charged) were all occupied, and a dense throng of pedestrians made locomotion difficult for any one but the water-carriers, more numerous here than anywhere else. They keep their water cool by having it in porous jugs, the evaporation from which keeps the water at a pleasant temperature and obviates the necessity of using microbe-infected and dyspepsia-breeding ice. Spain has much to learn and adopt from us, but it has some improvements to offer in return; and among the foremost are the Andalusian water jugs and the cool and cosy patios, which serve as reception rooms in the morning and evening.

HENRY T. FINCK.

Correspondence.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE COMMITTEE ON PENSIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: By press despatch we have a fragment of the Report of the Pension Committee on eight vetoed pension bills, and while I cannot criticize it as a whole, I can certainly call at-

tention to the apparent want of information by the Committee as to the origin and office of the Executive Negative. Presumably it is this which gives to the concluding sentence that inaccuracy and exaggeration which, ordinarily, has no recognized position outside of the stump speech:

"The right to so use the power of Executive disapproval as to change the ordinary method of legislative action by a majority vote upon proper subjects of legislation, merely because the Executive differs from Congress upon the sufficiency of proof or the expediency of relief, does not, in the opinion of your Committee, exist. Such a misconception of the extent of the Executive power, making it limitless, is fraught with danger to the independence of Congress and to its constitutional powers, and it clearly implies that a usurping President who proposes to subordinate to his will that of the department to which the Constitution has confided the principal powers of government, can rightfully do this and prevent the will of the people from taking statutory form, except by a two-thirds vote of each house of Congress."

I suppose by this last sentence the writer means to assert that the President regards his veto power as limitless, and that the exercise of it, which by the Report is reprehended, is a usurpation; but I confess my inability to understand how "a usurping President" can "rightfully" use unauthorized and revolutionary power.

If the Report contained nothing except this sentence, I should not regard it as worthy of notice. The statement as to the office of the veto deserves consideration. The Committee say that the President ought not to use his veto merely because he differs from Congress upon the "sufficiency of the proof" or the "expediency of the relief." This language is apt, of course, dealing with the special subject of pension relief bills, and is a clear statement of what the Committee meant to say, but it is a misconception gross enough to be almost characterized as perverse.

When the President comes to consider a private or general pension bill, under his oath of office it is his imperative duty to refuse his approval if, in his opinion, the evidence supporting the bill be insufficient, or if the proposed legislation be inexpedient. This is the precise occasion calling for Executive disapproval, and the Committee could not possibly have placed their contention upon ground more untenable. The non-partisan constituency of the President commend him especially for the courage with which he has dared to exercise this constitutionally conferred power. The duty of approval involves examination and consideration, and unless the duty is carelessly or faithlessly done, the Presidential negative must be interposed whenever, in his judgment, the majority has acted hastily, or upon insufficient proof, or against the public good. Any one of these conclusions following examination leaves the Executive no alternative but to notify Congress to reconsider their action. When he does this with a respectful statement of his objections, it seems almost childish to make response through a *paper* like the one we quote from.

Mr. Hamilton, after stating the necessity for the veto, says: "It not only serves as a shield to the Executive, but it furnishes an additional security against the enactment of improper laws. It establishes a salutary check upon the Legislative Body, calculated to guard the community against the effects of faction, precipitancy, or of any impulse unfriendly to the public good which may happen to influence a majority of that Body" ("Federalist," Letter lxxii); and throughout the discussion it was assumed that, though the negative was a qualified one, it was the President's duty to as-

sert it against any and all laws which, in his judgment, were bad. Mr. Hamilton was of opinion, also, that the veto would from its nature be often used, and he was quite right upon the assumption that the Federal Executive would always have the patience to examine and then the courage to determine questions of right and expediency in the acts of Congress coming to him for approval. In 1832, when the Senate considered the bank veto, Mr. Clay said: "The veto was an extraordinary power, which, though tolerated by the Constitution, was not expected by the Convention to be used in ordinary cases"; but Mr. Webster, with of course broader knowledge of constitutional questions, stated the true rule when he said: "It is not to be doubted that the Constitution gives the President the power which he has now exercised; but while the power is admitted, the grounds upon which it has been exerted become fit subjects of examination."

So here, the Pension Committee may question the sufficiency of the President's reasons for his action, but they weaken themselves in popular estimation when they characterize a manly and intelligent use of a constitutional power as a usurpation. W. H. EFFINGER.

PORTLAND, OREGON, June 20, 1888.

A PROTECTIONIST "FACT."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As the protectionists assure us that the country will go to ruin if the war tariff is in any way reduced, I am sure they will need every argument possible to sustain their position, and so offer them this authoritative and official one:

"It will, however, be advisable for those who wish to preserve their self-respect as Americans, when considering the relations borne by England to the industrial development of this country, to remember that England has always done her utmost to prevent any industrial or political development of the American people."

In addition to these consistent acts of continuous hostility, England, as has already been stated, has succeeded in introducing into American colleges the text-books written by her professors of political economy, and American young men are thereby indoctrinated with English free-trade ideas, which it usually takes from five to twenty-five years to recover from. Nor are these by any means the only emissaries of English policy in America. Certain so-called leading American journals in New York city and elsewhere, for reasons best known to themselves, advocate English free-trade theories, while the English 'Cobden Club,' whose avowed purpose is the propaganda of English free-trade ideas, makes special effort to secure, by courtesies extended, the influence of leading Americans, and also circulates pamphlets and other printed matter as widely as possible in the United States. In short, it is a matter of public notoriety that England neglects no available opportunity to disseminate in America the free-trade theories she deems so essential to her interests.

"In considering these theories it is well to keep one fact in mind, and that is, that from the first hour of English settlement in America down to the present time, the active influence of England has been constantly exerted to prevent, retard, and destroy the industrial and commercial development and prosperity of the United States.

"No amount of later compliments or courtesies, however unusual or distinguished, paid to living or deceased Americans, can obliterate these historical facts, or should be suffered to weaken the memory of them in the minds of patriotic Americans mindful of their country's welfare; because the situation of Great Britain is such that necessity of self-preservation compels her to continue in the same course towards this nation that she has ever adopted.

"The historical events just recited may be commended to the consideration of such youthful Americans as find themselves inclined to Anglomania, who affect English costumes and customs in dress, manner, and speech, and who would esteem it a compliment to be taken for English, 'which they never could be, you

know,'" ('Education in the Industrial and Fine Arts in the United States,' by Isaac Edward Clarke, A.M. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885. Art. "Industrial Relations of England to America," pp. cc-ccii.)

I feel that I have remained a "patriotic American" by calling my fellow-countrymen's attention to this Government publication on fine art.

P. S.—Will Mr. H. C. Lodge please copy? *Vide A. Hamilton's Works, ed. Lodge, v. 3, p. 416.*

PRUSSIA'S HEGEMONY IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The writer in the *Nation* of April 26 on the constitutional position of Prussia in the German Empire might have cited the case of Waldeck as an example of the various ways by which Prussia controls more than her constitutional seventeen votes in the Bundesrath. As this little duchy feels unable to pay its army assessment, Prussia charges herself with the expense, on condition that the vote which Waldeck possesses in the Bundesrath shall always be cast with her own.

The inhabitants of Waldeck are quite willing that their small territory should be added to the Prussian dominion, but Prussia refrains from incorporating it, partly because she wishes to avoid the appearance of absorbing the smaller States, but chiefly from the fear that Waldeck, in losing its autonomy, will also lose its vote in the Bundesrath. The Adminstration papers say openly that could some arrangement be made to secure that vote to Prussia, the Government would not hesitate to annex the duchy.

J. C. N.

BERLIN, June 20.

Notes.

GROUND RENTS in Philadelphia is the subject of the third number in the series of monographs on Political Economy and Public Law, edited by Prof. E. J. James, and published by the University of Pennsylvania. It will appear shortly, and the names of its editors, Messrs. Allinson and Penrose, are a guarantee of excellent performance.

The second volume of 'Cent ans de république aux États-Unis,' by the Due de Noailles, is about to appear. An extract from it under the title, "Le Pouvoir exécutif aux États-Unis," was given in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for June 15. In this the author attempts to show what it is that makes the originality of the American republic, and what is its essential difference from the republics of Europe.

'Drames Philosophiques,' by Ernest Renan, is announced as in preparation by Calmann Lévy. It is to be a thick octavo volume, but there is no indication as to whether it is a collection of his already published writings in this direction, or an entirely new work. The same house announces, for immediate publication, the fifth volume of the 'Histoire des Princes de Condé,' by the Due d'Aumale, accompanied by portraits and maps. A long passage from this forthcoming volume was read at the session of the French Academy on June 14, and published by the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in its issue of June 15, under the title, "De Lens à Vincennes." It closes with a page of personal explanation from the author concerning his treatment of the events which follow in the life of the Grand Condé, in which the exiled Prince, recalling his own unmerited disgrace, expresses himself in regard to his hero in lan-

guage which has evidently been carefully weighed: "L'homme de bien a le devoir de protester à tout risque contre l'acte tyramique qui, dans sa personne, atteint le public; de résister, de lutter même, si, au péril de sa vie, il peut mettre un terme à l'oppression de tous. Il n'a pas le droit de troubler sa patrie, de la déchirer, d'y porter la guerre, pour venger une offense personnelle."

Calmann Lévy has just published 'Madame de Custine, d'après des documents inédits' (Boston: Schoenhof). In these new "études sociales et littéraires," M. A. Bardoux continues his studies of society at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present one, with the grace and charm that rendered his previous work upon Madame de Beaumont so attractive.

Jouast (New York: Duprat & Co.) has just begun the publication of a "Bibliothèque des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France," with the 'Mémoires de Choisy sur le règne de Louis XIV,' in two 16mo volumes. It is edited by M. de Lescure, and accompanied by a preliminary notice, notes, an analytical table of contents and an index. The same publisher also begins another collection, "Les Pièces de Molière." Each play will be published separately, and illustrated by engravings from the designs of Louis Leloir, and notices and notes by M. Auguste Vitu. The first volume, which is already issued, is "L'Étourdi."

Henry Gréville's 'Perdue' has just been added by W. R. Jenkins to his "Romans Choisis."

For Ginn & Co.'s "Classics for Children" Mr. Edward Everett Hale has made a selection from the 'Arabian Nights,' mainly following Lane's version, and taking over also some of the familiar illustrations from his edition. Another volume is to follow.

New to our list of periodicals is the *Historical American*, begun this month at 90 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, O. Its aim is "to expound the best and most advanced thought of our time, as well as to picture the past and present, and to predict the future." In comprehensiveness, this programme certainly leaves little to be desired, and Mr. Lester F. Ward's name is appropriately connected with it. The magazine is illustrated.

The June number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is wholly given up to the proceedings at the Marietta Centennial (Columbus: A. H. Smythe). A steel portrait of Dr. Manasseh Cutler is prefixed; Gen. Rufus Putnam is rather crudely delineated on page 32, and there are several good topographical and antiquarian illustrations.

The first article in the *English Historical Review* for April is "The Campaign of Sedan," by William O'Connor Morris. The conclusion arrived at by the writer is, that the German success was due rather to Moltke's generalship than to any superiority in equipment or fighting qualities. And yet Mr. Morris does not appear to place Moltke in the highest rank of commanders. He says: "Moltke, without a claim to the grand original genius and resource of Napoleon, is, nevertheless, with the possible exception of Lee, the best strategist of the school of Napoleon. But, like the great Emperor, he showed in 1870 . . . that utter incapacity to understand the power of popular movements and patriotic passion which cost Napoleon so dear in Spain, in Russia, and notably at Waterloo." Leslie Stephen follows with "Chatham, Francis, and Junius," showing, against Mr. Dilke, that "there was not merely a conjunction of the two (not very heavenly) bodies [Junius and Francis], but a coincidence through an arc of their orbits." "The Plantation of Munster, 1584-1580," by R. Dunlop, gives a detailed account of this unsuccessful attempt

at settlement. Miss Robinson contributes a concluding article to "The Claim of the House of Orleans to Milan." This claim is fully set forth in the two articles, in its origin, its history, and its lawfulness; and after its "absolute and impregnable" character has been demonstrated, it is shown that it was shipwrecked upon the principle of nationality—that the real reason for its failure was that "the French Dukes of Milan were, in their own dominions, foreigners." Of the Notes and Documents, the most noteworthy is a paper upon the recently deceased Paul Ewald, by Prof. J. R. Seeley.

Krummacher, whose paper on Carlyle's style in 'Frederick the Great' we noted in January, continues the subject in the latest *Heft* of the *Englische Studien*, xi., 433-457. The present paper deals with Carlyle's use or omission of the definite and indefinite article, and peculiarities in the use of nouns, adjectives, propositions, etc. We have to repeat our praise of the author's industry and acumen. And if we are to exercise our own critical faculty, we may remark that we fail to detect a *triple* negation in the passage quoted p. 456*e*, scarcely even a *double* negation. Wishing any one or anything "at the Devil," p. 457, is by no means a Carlylism; "to admire at" (= "to wonder at") is a decided provincialism, not unknown in America.

A colored and lacquered bust of a young Japanese girl, by a native artist, makes an attractive frontispiece to the *Studio* for June. A shameful interest attaches to the story of the way in which a piratical American publisher has "adapted" Walter Crane's color designs. Mr. Clarence Cook continues his notice of the Academy, and criticises justly, as it seems to us, the distinction bestowed on Mr. Brush's "The Sculptor and the King," to which was awarded one of the prizes of the exhibition.

L'Art for June 1 (Macmillan) is very severe on the eight purchases of pictures made by the State from the late Salon. Detaille's "Le Rêve" alone is tolerantly treated, though the black-and-white copy of it we have somewhere met with is not very captivating, and one would say generally that what might be called the "dream business" has been done to death by artists. The rest are handled with severity. Henner's fumbling "St. Sebastian" in particular. Only four of the eight canvases, we remark, were sketched in the Illustrated Catalogue of the Salon. Rolf's "Maud Lamétrie" was given in the last number of the *Universal Review*, along with Raffin's "Le Soir," and the praise which Mr. Harry Quilter accords to both is in amusing contrast to *L'Art*'s depreciation of the same pictures; but on the face of it we are disposed to side with the latter critic. In the *Courrier de L'Art* for May 25, M. G. Dargenty censures the exhibition of Victor Hugo's drawings as if they were one phase of his genius, or were remarkable as art. "Is it not enough," he asks, "to have equalled Dante and surpassed Shakspere?"

The report on the manufacture of oleomargarine in Massachusetts contained in the nineteenth annual report of the Board of Health of that State is entirely favorable to this unpopular but useful industry. Noticeable in the same document is the discussion of the ventilation of schoolrooms heated by stoves—a paper freely illustrated by diagrams.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in cooperation with the Historical Department of the State University, desires to collect statistics and other facts in relation to *organized* emigration into the State of Wisconsin. Any person willing to assist in this work is request-

ed to correspond with Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites, Secretary of the Society at Madison, marking the communication "Organized Emigration" on the envelope. Printed or written documents, in English or otherwise, bearing upon this inquiry will be thankfully received by Mr. Thwaites for the Society.

Mr. W. J. Linton writes us from London under date of June 28: "May I ask leave to correct a statement in your kindly notice of 'The Masters of Wood-Engraving' in the *Nation* of June 7? The size of the book (short royal folio), as shown by the specimen pages, is a little under seventeen inches by twelve. It therefore does not require 'a double page' to admit cuts of twelve by eight."

—With great pleasure we announce the arrival of Part iv. of the Philological Society's New English Dictionary (Macmillan). It is divided into two sections, the first completing at once the letter B and the first volume of this monumental work. The second section ends with *cross word*. We must, as usual, defer proper notice of the new instalment till time has been afforded for careful examination. Here we can only make a few gleanings from the preface to vol. i., which accompanies the first section. The editor points out that while, as in other dictionaries, the main words beginning with A exceed in number those beginning with B, the space devoted to the latter is considerably in excess of that devoted to A—contrary to the rule in other dictionaries. "This difference arises from the diversity in the historical character of the words under the two letters respectively, and the effect which this has upon the relative space required by them in a dictionary which deals with a language historically." The obsolete words under B are rarer than those under A; "fewer of the Old English and Norman words [which characterize B] have dropped out of use, than of the much more recent learned importations of the Renaissance which, after a short literary life, perished before the end of the seventeenth century." Furthermore, more than three-fourths of the whole English A and B vocabulary on record since the twelfth century is still in current use—"striking evidence of the continuity and general identity of our language during seven centuries." B, as had already been made known, furnished the hardest etymological nuts to crack. The editor explains his action on the question of admitting adjectives derived from proper names. *African* was excluded, but *Asturian* was admitted because *Americanize* and *Asturianism* had to be reckoned with. As the wicked intention of the abolitionists to *Africanize* this country was once much talked of among us, probably *African* would have been admitted in consistency had not the printed page been closed. As regards pronunciation we read: "The Editor was once present at a meeting of a learned society, where, in the course of discussion, he heard the word *garrulous* systematically pronounced in six different ways by as many eminent physicists." "On several occasions," too, Mr. Murray says he "has applied directly to the introducer of a word to know how he pronounces it, or means it to be pronounced, and has received the answer that he has never thought of its pronunciation, does not presume to say how it ought to be pronounced, and leaves it to people to pronounce as they like, or to the DICTIONARY to say what is the *right* pronunciation." Of the letter C we are told that, unlike B, it contains only a small proportion of Old English or Teutonic words, but many from the Latin, directly or through the French and the Greek. "And words of Celtic origin are proportionately numerous."

—Among the Editor's warmer acknowledgments to his collaborators on both sides of the Atlantic, those to an American scholar residing in England take precedence.

"And first of all, and above all others, to Mr. FitzEdward Hall, D.C.L., who, as a voluntary and gratuitous service to the history of the English Language, has devoted four hours daily to a critical examination of the proof sheets and the filling up of deficiencies, whether in the vocabulary or the quotations. Those who are familiar with the pages of his 'Modern English,' his 'English Adjectives in Use,' and his numerous articles and papers on special points of English, know with what an amazing wealth of evidence the author illustrates the history of every word, idiom, or grammatical usage upon which he touches, the whole of his stock of quotations, references, and indices, he has generously placed at the service of the Philomary, and there is scarcely a page to which he has not added earlier instances of words or senses than those which our readers have found. Many rare words and rare senses have been added outright from his stores."

—Mr. Howard Williams has translated for Bohn's Classical Library New York: Scribner & Welford, one volume of Iliuan's "Dialogues." The present selection comprises "The Dialogues of the Gods," "Tales the Tragedian," "The Convicted Zeus," "The Ferry-Boat," "Memphis." Now, the "Dialogues of the Gods," the translation of which we have examined as a sample of the whole, are largely studies of form, and whoever undertakes to translate them should try at any rate to give something of the grace of the original, dawning master's grace though it be. But Mr. Howard Williams has renounced at the outset any attempts to make a "spiritual" rendering, for which he abhors his contempt, and professes "to adhere to the original as closely as essential differences of idiom allow." In spite of this profession, however, the unfortunate schoolboy who should take Mr. Howard Williams at his word will assuredly come to harm, if he tries to make a practical use in the classroom of this dead jumble of overdoing and under-doing, of antiquated English and modern slang, with not a few downright mistranslations, which are worse, we venture to say, than any to be found in those "spiritual versions" which, according to Mr. Williams, are "for the most part not distinguished by any very strict fidelity to the original." The article with the proper noun, which is in most instances merely an index of familiar speech, comes in not infrequently for terrible emphasis, and the unlucky artist is made to yield its supposed momentariness at every turn. And side by side with this would be grammatical exactitude, we find, say, "lively," "nimble," translated "Gorgon," "for all I care," rendered by "for my own sake," a whole section spoiled by ignorance of so familiar an idiom as the use of *etc.* and *et cetera* explained in the notes by an ellipsis of *etc.* In these notes, by the way, the translator imagines every now and then to dull a point which he had not entirely blunted in the text, and the second-hand learning heaped up at the foot of the page is made thoroughly distasteful by the false accents with which the Greek quotations are dusted. In fourteen lines of a familiar passage from the "Medea" there are more accentual mistakes than there are lines, and one hideous misprint besides. In short, we can only express our judgment of this performance by the Lucianic word, *#evedox*—the word which Mr. Williams in despair translates "very fishy." What of Lucian? Mr. Williams has spared is of far more importance for the student of Greek life and thought in the second century than the dialogues contained in this volume, and it would be a pity to have that spoiled also. But who is

there that will give us an English Lucian to match Bernays's translation of the 'Peregrinus'?

—Another new volume of the "Bohn Classical Library" bears as its title 'Julian the Emperor,' and under this heading Mr. C. W. King has put his versions of Gregory Nazianzen's Two Invectives against the Emperor Julian, and of the Funeral Oration of Libanius in honor of the same personage, together with Julian's theosophical works, or, in less ambitious phrase, his discourses on the Sun and on the Mother of the Gods. The interest of the first part of the volume is supposed to lie in the opportunity thus afforded the English reader of comparing the divergent accounts given of the imperial philosopher; of the second part, in certain modern parallels. As for the student of history, so far from leaving him to draw his own conclusions, Mr. King takes a malicious delight in prodding the clerical inveigher, and can hardly be said himself to keep the desirable judicial attitude. But those who know the period, know that discourses of this kind have scarcely any value for history. The supposed historical facts are as often as not invented for the sake of showing off an acquaintance with Herodotus or Thucydides. It is a world of reminiscences, of phrases, all the more remarkable because people actually did something in those days. Still, Mr. King thinks that he has found archaeology and art enough, chiefly of the numismatic order, to repay the quest, and in testimony of this he has supplied the volume with a full index. As for the literary delight to be had either from the original or from the stiff translation, that may be put down as a *minimum*, in spite of the reputation of the Cappadocian Father and of the teacher of Julian. Julian's own contributions to the volume do that vivid person injustice. In the "Caesars," the "Misopogon," one may recognize something of the vigor that marks the Romanticist on the Throne in action; but the "Discourse on the Sun," the "Discourse on the Mother of the Gods," are dreary performances. However, one must have sympathy with the theosophic mind to understand it, and the only practical objection we have to urge is the rarity of the theosophic mind. As in the Lucian, as in so many of the Bohn volumes, the Latin and the Greek of the Julian are abominably printed.

—The Year Book of the Library of the University of Norway (*Universitets-Bibliothekets Åarbog for 1887*), recently issued, contains the Librarian's report and the catalogue of accessions. The report is for the fiscal year 1886-87, and shows an increase of 6,336 volumes, making the total contents of the library on June 30, 1887, 296,518 books, 1,412 manuscripts, and 602 maps, besides the collections of prints and music and a considerable number of duplicates. During the year, 26,578 volumes were loaned out, and 27,867 volumes were brought to the reading-room for use there. Of the books so used the greatest number, 12,110, were historical works, philology coming next, 7,976, followed by belles-lettres, 4,902; law, 4,728; medicine, 5,412; natural history, 3,832, and theology, 3,727, while 520 manuscripts were examined. The excellent and well-equipped reading-room of this institution deserves special mention. It was constructed some five or six years ago in the court of the library building, but it is well lighted and comfortable. There are 2,500 reference books ranged round the walls, and the current numbers and parts of several hundred periodicals and society publications are placed at the disposal of readers with commendable promptness.

—The catalogue of accessions is divided into three parts, the first containing the titles of works (printed or published in Norway during the year 1886) of which copies have been deposited in the library, in accordance with the Norwegian Copyright Law, by 140 printing and lithographic establishments. These titles embrace 956 books and pamphlets, 120 periodicals, 109 newspapers, 132 pieces of music, 24 maps, 13 prints, and 916 leaflets—a respectable showing as the literary production of a year for a country with a population of less than two millions. None of the great names in the contemporary literature of Norway occur in the catalogue for 1886, except that of Björnsterne Björnson, who appears only as the translator of an article contributed by Col. Robert Ingersoll to the *North American Review*. The other translations from American authors are, an Indian story by Miss Alcott, entitled 'Onawandah,' Professor Anderson's 'Norse Mythology,' Cooper's 'Deer-Slayer,' and Mr. Henry George's 'Progress and Poverty' and 'Social Problems.' Norway is not without a literary censorship, and three of the titles are followed by notes stating that the works have been suppressed. The second part of the catalogue contains the Norwegian books printed prior to 1886 which were received during the year, and also the books printed abroad, but relating to Norway; while the third part includes the foreign accessions, arranged under subjects. The additions from German and French literature are valuable, and the number of titles under "Philology" is noticeable. Very little original American literature, however, is included—less than a dozen volumes in all; and these, with the exception of two volumes of the *Critic* and Mr. Stedman's 'Poets of America,' have been selected apparently because their contents had some relation to Scandinavian subjects.

—Prof. H. Jordan of Königsberg, whose lamented death (Nov. 10, 1886) left unfinished the standard work upon the topography of ancient Rome, left also a fragment, entitled 'Die Könige im alten Italien,' discussing a problem which had occupied his attention in the last months of his life. This problem was to account for the fact that the kings of patrician Rome bore the names of plebeian *gentes*; *i. e.*, leaving out the Etruscan Tarquins, the names Pompilius, Hostilius, Marcius, and Tullius are, he thinks, exclusively plebeian. To account for this, he advances the startling theory that the earliest Rome, the Rome of the three tribes, embraced patricians and plebeians alike, the exclusively patrician rule having been established later, and in connection with a new immigration (*jedenfalls getragen durch eine starke Einwanderung*). Undoubtedly, if the author had lived, he would have revised his work, and especially would have elaborated his theory more fully; as it stands, it suggests more questions than it answers. It is difficult to conceive how a theory which completely reverses the accepted view can be made to harmonize with the evidence. Especially, it may be remarked, the exclusively plebeian character of these names is by no means established. The Marci and Tulli of the later Republic were undoubtedly plebeian, but so were also the Junii and Cassii; while there are traditions (which he is obliged to discredit) of patrician Marci and Tulli in the early Republic. The names Pompilius and Hostilius are too rare to be taken into account. On the other hand, there are numerous instances of plebeian branches of patrician *gentes*, descended probably from clients; the best known example is the Claudi Marcelli. In any case it is surpris-

ing that (with the exception of Horatius) none of the great patrician names of the early Republic—Valerius, Fabius, Quintius, etc.—occur under the kings; but we must remember that the long rule of the Tarquinian dynasty gave opportunity for some families to sink into obscurity and others to rise in importance.

LE CONTE'S EVOLUTION AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

Evolution and Its Relations to Religious Thought. By Joseph Le Conte. D. Appleton & Co. 1888. xviii., 344 pp., Svo. Ills.

PROFESSOR LE CONTE is well and favorably known to the scientific as well as to a large proportion of the non-scientific reading public. He is a man in whom reverence and imagination have not become desiccated by a scientific atmosphere, but flourish, in due subordination and control, to embellish and vivify his writings. Those who know them have come to expect a peculiar alertness of mind and freshness of method in any new work by Professor Le Conte, whether his conclusions be such as they are ready to receive or not.

The questions suggested by the title of the present work must weigh with more or less persistence on the mind of every intelligent and liberal thinker. And the more fully the thinker is acquainted with the methods, scope, and apparent results of modern science—the more thorough his sincerity with himself, the greater his devotion to truth, lead where it may—so much the more poignant must be his travail, and the more fervent his prayer for light "if there be light." The man who can keep his science and his religion in two boxes, either of which may be opened separately, is to be congratulated. Many of us cannot, and his peace of mind we cannot attain. Therefore, every contribution towards a means of clearer vision is most welcome, above all, when it comes from one who knows the ground on which he stands, and has conquered his right to be there.

Prof. Le Conte has attempted to give (1) a very concise account of what is meant by evolution; (2) an outline of the evidences of its truth drawn from many different sources; and (3) its relation to fundamental religious beliefs. As for the first and second propositions, we shall pass them over, with only the comment that they are treated in a manner no less satisfactory than our author's qualifications would lead us to expect. We believe that we can employ the space assigned to this review most usefully for our readers in giving them a brief synopsis of the third part, in which Prof. Le Conte has solved for himself the greatest of the problems which confront humanity. Those who would know the reasoning by which the argument is sustained must, and we hope many will, go to the work itself.

Prof. Le Conte accepts evolution as an established law of nature, and regards the materialism which so many draw from it as an unwarranted and hasty inference. Everybody knows that every one of us, individually, became what we now are by a slow process of evolution from a microscopic spherule of protoplasm, and yet this did not interfere with our idea of God as our individual maker. Why, then, should the discovery that the first individuals of each species originated by evolution destroy our belief in God as the creator of species? Prof. Le Conte asserts divine agency by natural process as opposed, on the one hand, to the theologian who asserts divine agency and denies natural process, and, on the other, to the materialist who accepts natural process while denying divine agency. If evolution be materialism, so is

gravitation and every other law of nature. The only difference is, that here is the last line of defence of the dogmatist, and his yielding implies not a mere shifting of line, but a change of base; not a readjustment of details merely, but a reconstruction of Christian theology. While the author believes this to be necessary, it does not seem to have many terrors for him.

The next step considers the relation of God to nature. The dilemma is stated without compromise. Either God is far more closely related with nature, and operates it in a more direct way than we have been accustomed to suppose, or else nature operates itself and needs no God at all. There is no tenable middle ground. The author promptly accepts the first alternative, and postulates a Deity immanent, in whom (in the most literal sense) not only we but all things have their being, in whom all things consist, through whom all things exist, and without whom there would be and could be nothing. According to this view, the phenomena of nature are naught else than objectified modes of Divine thought, the forces of nature are different forms of one omnipresent Divine energy or will, the laws of nature the regular modes of operation of that will, inviolable and unchangeable. To the objection that this is pure Idealism, Prof. Le Conte points out that the received Idealism regards the external world as composed of objectified mental states of the observer, while in the present conception it is the objectified modes of the mind of God, a very substantial reality conditioning us on every side.

In treating of the relations of man to nature, the author contrasts the two views, as old as the history of human thought, according to one of which man is an immortal spirit belonging to a world of his own, while the other regards him as a part, and relatively a rather insignificant part, of nature, belonging strictly to the animal kingdom, and his thought, emotion, consciousness, and will as products of his brain in the same sense as bile is the product of the liver. He combines and reconciles these mutually exclusive extremes by treating the phenomena of consciousness and thought as of an entirely different order from the physical changes in sense organs through which the former become evident—so different that it is impossible to imagine the nature of the nexus between or to construe the one in terms of the other. This relation lies evidently beyond the domain of science. It requires some other kind of knowledge than human to understand it. There is nothing especially strange in this, since the same mystery underlies the essential nature of all phenomena. Physical and chemical forces, admitted as existing, are mutually convertible in terms of each other and of motion. Standing on the plane of material existence, all its phenomena fall into intelligible order. But there is another plane above this, having no intelligible relation with it. Material forces are a mystery of the first order. But mental and moral forces and phenomena are a mystery even from the standpoint of the other, and therefore of the second order.

Now, in the gradual evolution of the animal kingdom, did the immortal spirit enter with life, or with sentient life, or somewhere in the ascending scale of animals, or with the advent of man? If with man, was it something added, or did it grow out of something already existing in animals? The author holds as the only tenable view that the spirit of man was developed out of the anima or conscious principle of animals, and that this again was developed out of the lower forms of life force, and this in its turn out of the chemical and physical forces

of nature; and that at a certain stage in this gradual development, viz., with man, it acquired the property of immortality precisely as it now, at a certain stage, in the individual history of each man, acquires the capacity of abstract thought.

In support of this he urges that there is nothing wholly exceptional in such transformation with the sudden appearance of new powers and properties: but, on the contrary, it is in accordance with many analogies in the lower forces, and therefore *a priori* not only credible, but probable. There is now a sort of taxonomic scale of force and matter in sharply limited and distinct planes. These are: (1) the plane of elements; (2) that of chemical compounds; (3) that of vegetal life; (4) of animal life; and (5) the plane of rational and, as we hope, of immortal life. Each has its own appropriate force and distinctive phenomena, and there is between each a very distinct break. Though there are various degrees of the force characteristic of each, yet the difference between the characteristic forces is one of kind as well as degree. Although energy by transmutation may take all these different forms, and thus does now circulate up and down through all these planes, yet the passage from one plane upward to another is not a gradual passage by sliding scale, but *at one bound*. When the necessary conditions are present, a new and higher form of force at once appears, like a birth into a higher sphere. This is appropriately and ingeniously illustrated, as by the formation of water from gases, and of protoplasm in a green leaf. With each new irruption of the universal energy into a higher plane, there appear new, unexpected, and, previous to experience, wholly unimaginable powers and properties. The forces of nature being naught else than different forms of the one omnipresent Divine energy, which has taken successively higher and higher forms in the course of cosmic time, the author points out that the upward movement has been wholly by increasing individuation, not only of matter, but also of force. Finally, the same energy, completely individuated as a separate entity, and therefore self-conscious, capable of separate existence, and therefore immortal, we call the spirit of man. In animals, spirit is deep submerged in nature, as beneath a water surface, wholly ignorant of any higher, freer world above. In man, spirit emerges above the surface into a higher world, looks down on nature beneath him, on other emerged spirits about him, and upward to the Father of all spirits above him—emerged, but not wholly free, rising above the lower plane, but not entirely foot-loose.

Now, if man be indeed something more than a higher species of animal, if man's spirit be indeed a spark of Divine energy individuated to the point of self-consciousness and recognition of its relations both Divine and natural, it is evident that this new relation should include a difference of attitude between the individual and God, as compared with the mutual attitude of Divinity and uninividuated nature. The possibilities of mutual reaction afforded by this conception enable us to imagine an inspiration or revelation to the spirit of man, which shall not, in the physical sense, be a reversion or interruption of natural law, but something of a different nature and on a higher plane. There is evidently no other kind of revelation possible, and such revelation is given to all men in different degrees. But there is, and in the nature of things can be, no test of truth but reason, by which all things must in the last instance be tried.

Having shown how, following the line of

scientific thought, we are logically driven to the doctrine of Divine immanence, the author proceeds, in a very ingenious argument, to free his hypothesis from Pantheism, and to show how, in his opinion, we are also logically impelled to a belief in a Divine personality. His statement is necessarily analogical and suggestive rather than convincing, but we think he shows, at least, that there is a door open in this direction.

The problem of Evil is regarded from an evolutionary standpoint. Not happiness or innocence, but virtue, is the goal of humanity; virtue cannot be given, it must be self-acquired, by a knowledge of and conformity to the laws of the moral world. We cannot conceive of a moral being without freedom to choose. Evil, then, has its roots in the necessary law of evolution, is a necessary condition of all progress, and preeminently so of moral progress. All that we call evil, both in the material and spiritual world, is good so long as we hold it in subjection to the spirit, and only becomes evil when we succumb. True virtue consists not in the extirpation of the lower elements of man's nature, but in their subjection to the higher. The latter are nourished and strengthened by their connection with the former, while the lower are refined and glorified by their relation to the higher, until by this mutual reaction the whole plane of being is elevated.

Such is, in brief, the scheme presented for our consideration by Professor Le Conte. That it will not satisfy the mind in bondage to hereditary dogmatic systems is self-evident. Nothing in harmony with scientific rigor would do so, nor is it worth while for any one to attempt, for the scientific mind, any repetition of the nauseating incongruities which have so often been put forward under the guise of a "reconciliation of science and religion."

PLYMOUTH AND THE BAY COLONY.

The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, 1629-1685. By Geo. E. Ellis. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888. Svo, pp. 356.

The Pilgrim Republic: an Historical Review of the Colony of New Plymouth, with Sketches of the Rise of other New England Settlements, the History of Congregationalism and the Creeds of the Period. By John A. Goodwin. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1888. Svo, pp. 662.

We cannot complain of a want of scholarly attention to the dark questions of our early colonial days. To Doyle's judicious and broad, though somewhat slow, history of the Puritan colonies, and Adams's lively but one-sided essay on the "Emancipation of Massachusetts," are to be added these works by Dr. Ellis and Mr. Goodwin, both learned, both sombre, and both somewhat clerical, not to say Puritan, in their lore, but not the less fit on that account to enter into the inner life of that strange period, with its curious compound of harshness and enthusiasm, of medieval bigotry and modern statesmanship. The two volumes have very different aims. Dr. Ellis has not tried to write a detailed history. His work is an essay on the religious aspects of that curious age, and it is easy to guess that the desire to answer Mr. Adams, and exhibit the Massachusetts Puritans in a less odious light, had no little effect upon the execution of his plan. It is not difficult to show the Puritan defects in a striking and hateful aspect; at the best they seem savage enough in the light of modern liberal thought. The difficulty is to get out of our modern atmosphere, and revive enough of their surroundings and modes of thought to get a genuine histori-

cal insight, and judge them by their age, not ours.

Dr. Ellis helps us a good deal here. He is not dramatic or animated. He gives little space to sketching character or picturing scenes. But he does succeed in showing us why the Puritans felt bound to carry out that "grim and iron rule of bigotry, austerity, and intolerance," and how they grew.

"strong then shifts an wants an pains,
Nussed by stern men with empes in their brains."

as Lowell says. They were trying a wonderful experiment of government by pure Bible rule, in an age peculiarly ripe for such a trial, for both the feudal civil institutions and the old feudal church had been outgrown, and experience had not shown what could take their place; and the boundless enthusiasm for the newly discovered Bible made it seem most natural to appeal to it as the final arbiter. They could not try the plan fairly without using exceptional and violent means. They had not the slightest idea of separating Church and State. In that period few had conceived of the possibility of such a thing; and even in our own time many will not willingly accept the thesis which Dr. Ellis thinks has been practically demonstrated, that no organic form of civil government can safely base itself on religion. The Reformation in England had the closer union of Church and State for one of its main features; and when the extreme English reformers migrated to form their colony here, they drew the tie closer still. The Church did not govern directly, but indirectly her influence was omnipotent. The parish was the unit of crystallization, only church members voted, the elders were constantly consulted by the magistrates, the Mosaic Code was treated as legally binding, and the enemies of the Church were promptly expelled. This idea could not be carried out without a good deal of severity, but it had a wonderful grandeur in that age, and such severities did not wear the barbarous look that they have to our eyes. Harshness seemed a practical necessity. To punish obtrusive dissenters by nothing but banishment was a concession painful to not a few. The extremists would have liked to treat them as they did Indian combatants—sold the squaws into slavery, and brought away only the heads of the men. Such was the age.

It is easy to make too much of the narrow limits of the Puritan charter. Some of the earlier New England patents had been merely for trade, but the charter of 1628 was granted for a different purpose and had a different form. A religious government in the Christian faith was put forward as one of the purposes of the plantation. Even trading corporations could banish unwelcome intruders; but this was a municipal rather than a trading corporation, and considerable legislative power was conveyed by the clause of the charter authorizing the colonists to make laws, enforced by fines, imprisonment, "or other lawful correction, according to the course of other corporations in this our realm." Certainly this did not authorize the infliction of the death penalty in cases which, like witchcraft, were not capital at common law, and it did not authorize the sale of Indian captives. For these acts the colonists had only what satisfaction they could get from the Mosaic law. But a vast number of provisions, not only criminal but civil, were quite within their power, as in matters relating to husbands and wives, administration of trusts, etc. Writers on the subject are apt to forget the very peculiar state of the law in England at that date, when the common law was still in swaddling clothes, incompetent to

deal with many of the commonest events of life either penal or civilly, and requiring to be constantly supplemented by some other authority.

The English people tolerated the equity jurisdiction of the Chancellor, the military jurisdiction of the King, and the civil jurisdiction of his Privy Council and courts of high commission, and especially the broad ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Church, largely because they believed that it was necessary to fill these extensive gaps in the common law. And when they came to this country they found much the same gaps, and filled them as best they could by action of the General Court and church discipline. It is a high tribute to the common law that the colonists, with their religious instincts and organization so strongly opposed to its cold utilitarianism, should yet have worked back into it, naturally without a jar. There were no lawyers at first, and some of the early actions were more like the proceedings of the board of directors of a charitable institution than a modern court; but, as prosperity came and courts were organized, the common-law process came back insensibly. The point most like a break was at the revocation of the charter in 1684; but the change in practice had preceded that change in law, and the theocracy had been overthrown in the hearts of the silent majority before the political changes in England brought about its overthrow. The experiment of Bible government had been tried and had failed, under peculiarly favorable circumstances, in the hands of a set of vigorous enthusiasts, at a time when the Bible, as Dr. Ellis says, was held as it never had been before and never has been since—not only as all-sufficient, but as requiring, by positive divine injunction, that it should be so used and obeyed. "No thought of what is to us so obvious in the impracticability of the experiment seems to have presented itself to those who put it on trial."

It was requisite that there should be resolute adherence by the adopters, and a firm rule over sojourners, who, although not parties to the experiment, had to be compelled to conform to it. We cannot blame the Puritans for perceiving this and acting on it. Their rigor against dissenting preachers was political as much as it was religious. Dr. Ellis devotes a whole chapter to showing the cordial reception given to the Jesuit Father Druillettes, who made no effort to teach his views. It was because Mrs. Hutchinson and President Dunster and Roger Williams and Samuel Gorton (whose trial for heresy Dr. Ellis does not mention, by the way), and more especially the Quakers and Anabaptists, either proselytized actively or attacked the magistracy, that they were put down so harshly. If they had said nothing, and gone to church regularly, they would not have been bothered. As it was, we may concede that it was necessary to get rid of them, but it was most impolitic as well as illegal ever to impose the death penalty. And yet it is curious to see how it was present in the minds of the judges in heresy trials, with a horrible fascination, from the very beginning.

In his chapter on the Quakers, Dr. Ellis quietly abandons some of the extremer positions that he once took in defending the Puritans. The witchcraft horror he treats as outside his subject, because it occurred under the commission of a royal Governor, after the power had passed from Puritan hands, though he would concede, no doubt, that it was the intolerant Puritan zeal for the Mosaic law that made the persecution possible. Another point on which Dr. Ellis might well have been fuller is the growth of the opposition party, as shown

in the history of the Brattle Square and Old South Churches.

Mr. Goodwin's "Pilgrim Republic" covers a very different ground. Dr. Ellis's work is an elaborate essay on one phase of the life of the great Bay Colony. It is a part of a great controversy, an authoritative statement of the Puritan defence. Mr. Goodwin's is a local history, narrating the early republican régime at Plymouth with great fulness of detail, touching upon many controverted points, and handling them with coolness and justice, though without much imagination or humor. He begins by explaining that while the Bay Colony was Puritan, the Plymouth one was not, having severed from the very beginning that connection with the English Puritan Church which the Bay men for many years nominally kept up. And he plumes himself not a little, as Plymouth archaeologists are wont to do, on the greater liberality and freedom from persecution which the Separatists showed.

Such was the roundabout connection between the two things, however, that this result was due more to a cautious recognition of the dangers of their peculiar position than to any religious open-mindedness. Neither colony cared much doctrinally for the tenet. Only four years after the settlement, before they had got a firm foothold, Brewster told Lyford that the Plymouth men did not insist upon it, and Lyford says that the non-Separatists were in a majority. Politically, however, they had destroyed their chance of a charter by their outspoken course, and they were unable, therefore, to pass any valid laws. The colony existed only by the connivance of the English Government, and this had a marvellous effect in subduing any over-vivacious enforcement of their religious belief. The Bay men began more shrewdly. They were the same race, with the same beliefs, and just as much Separatists at heart as the Plymouth men. In their practical home administration they dropped the tie the moment they landed, with a quiet unanimity and promptness that is very suggestive; but by keeping up the nominal connection abroad with the English Puritans they secured a powerful support for half a century, which not only preserved their charter so long as that party had power, and gave a tacit assent to their legislation, but added materially to the tide of wealthy emigrants which their fertile soil drew upon them. The violent extremists were a minority in both colonies, but in Plymouth they were kept back, while at the Bay success unfortunately kept them in power and made them more violent. It was their prosperity and power rather than their religion that made the Bay men worse persecutors than the settlement beyond, and led them to go further than was necessary or wise.

Mr. Goodwin's book is in this way an answer to Dr. Ellis, for if the Plymouth Colony could prosper so well without persecution, the Bay men might also. The Puritans probably urged that it was not mere prosperity that they were after, but harmonious communion of the saints; but they did not get that anyway as it turned out. It is hardly necessary to say that the Plymouth Pilgrims did not tolerate crime because their legal position was so shaky. They followed the example of President Dunster, who, when he understood that there was no law punishing a burglary which a couple of Harvard students had committed, took them in hand paternally and administered a sound flogging. And they did not confine their punishment to what we think criminal nowadays. The stocks and the whipping-post were ready not only for the thieves and malefactors, but for those who reviled the clergy or stayed away

from public worship. Gorton's maid-servant, as Mr. Goodwin might have noted, was threatened with banishment as a common vagabond for smiling in church. On Cape Cod Bay as on Boston Harbor they wished to have

"Men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch."

They got rid of Gorton and Williams and others who urged dissent, and they sold their Indian captives into slavery with a cheerful eye to the main chance. They even passed the same severe laws against witches and Quakers as the other colonies did, but here they paused. They did not enforce them, and the witchcraft trials were total failures. They were a people of sound common sense, and one thing in that connection may well be noted: the utter failure of the community experiment. The colony would have perished if the salutary spur of individual ownership and competition had not been restored; and they were wise enough to find it out in time and profit by the lesson.

ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURE.

The Zend Avesta. Part iii, the Yasna, Visparad, Afrinagán, Gâhs, and miscellaneous fragments, translated by L. H. Mills. [The Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxi.] Oxford: at the Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. \$vo. Pp. xlvii, 400.

THE fragments of the old Zoroastrian literature known as the 'Zend Avesta' may be divided into three groups, dealing with the religious and civil law, with the legendary law of Iran, and with the liturgy and metaphysics of Zoroastrianism. The first elements are embodied mainly in the 'Vendidad,' the next in the Yashts, and the last in the 'Yasna,' 'Visparad,' 'Afrinagán,' etc. The 'Vendidad' and the Yashts were translated for the series of the "Sacred Books of the East," by M. James Darmesteter of Paris (Parts i and ii making vols. iv and xxiii of the series); the present volume, containing the rest of the 'Avesta,' translated by Mr. L. H. Mills, brings the work to an end, and the student of Zoroastrianism will thus have in his hands all, or nearly all, of what remains of the sacred literature of the Parsis.

The 'Visparad' and half the 'Yasna' are liturgical books, the books of sacrifice (this is the meaning of Yasna); the other half of the 'Yasna' consists of the celebrated Gâths or Hymns, which are the oldest and are considered to be the holiest part of the 'Avesta' and the very essence of Zoroastrianism; they are also the obscurest part of it. They have been translated in their entirety or in part more than once, and the passages are not many on which there is perfect agreement between any two of the translators.

The five Gâths are five groups of hymns which have been arranged together according to the five different metres in which they are written. The language differs from that in the rest of the 'Avesta'; it is more archaic in its forms and its lexicon, and bears a closer affinity to the Vedic dialect. The contents are also of a different character, though the Gâths are frequently quoted and their spirit breathes through all the sacred books. The 'Younger Avesta' possesses a rich mythology much like that of the Vedas, whereas the Gâths have the severity and abstract character of a moral and dogmatic composition. Its main subjects are the idea of Dualism, the opposition of Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd), the Beneficent Spirit, to Ahriman, the Spirit of Destruction, the glorification of the former and the six Amshaspands, who are the divine impersonation of six of the

highest abstractions of the moral, social, and material world; the permanent struggle of the two spirits, and the victory to come of the good one.

The difficulty of the Gâths does not lie in the ideas expressed: they are nothing new to the Avesta student, as they permeate the whole of the 'Avesta'; it lies in the eccentric and artificial way in which these ideas are expressed. In this point, also, the Gâths remind one of the Vedic phraseology; nothing is less simple, less natural than the style of the Vedas, those supposed strains of unaffected and spontaneous primitive poetry; nothing either less flowing or simple than the moral commonplaces in which the Gâtha poet unceasingly delights. He thinks that brevity is the essence of speech; half the grammatical helps are suppressed, and the idea is half uttered in an imperfect sentence meant to invest it with the mystery and majesty of an oracle. From the passages whose meaning is clear, one can see that the mystery is not in the idea itself, but in the voluntary imperfection of the grammar, in the archaism of forms and the number of *ātās kēyās*. It follows also that the problem is not one to be given up in despair; it is a work of time, and the solution depends mainly on a patient comparison of the many tautologies with which these texts abound.

Mr. Mills is not unknown in this country, of which he is a citizen, though he has studied in Europe and now resides in Oxford. He was not originally trained as an Oriental scholar; he became one late in life by dint of energy, and he is a wonderful instance of what will and singleness of purpose may accomplish under not very favorable circumstances. Nearly fifteen years ago, being engaged in researches upon Gnosticism, he found himself obliged to study the Zoroastrian dualism, and especially the Gâths. He set to work, and studied Zend; but no Zend text can be surely understood without the help of the traditional translations written in that enigmatic language, the Pehlvi, the study of which requires a knowledge of both the Aryan and Semitic family of languages. But from the Gâths, the scholar drifts unavoidably to the Vedas, which alone can throw light upon many particularities of the language, and also upon the old groundwork of ideas which underlies the Zoroastrian edifice. Mr. Mills toiled for years through that heavy and obscure Pahlavi literature; he went to Munich, the richest library of Europe in Pahlavi books, to prepare an edition of the Gâths which should contain the Zend text, the Pehlvi translation of the Zend, the Sanskrit and Persian translations of the Pehlvi; all these materials being given either in the original character or in Roman transliteration as well as in an English translation. Mr. Mills, with admirable zeal and disinterestedness, had his work privately printed and sent to the leading Zend scholars, asking for their advice and suggestions, and he passed several years in recasting it. We understand that this most useful encyclopedia of Gâthic literature has at last received its definitive form, and is about to be published with the aid of the East India Office. It is to be hoped that Mr. Mills will find also in his own country the additional support needed for this most important publication.

The present translation embodies the result of Mr. Mills's researches. As he himself very modestly acknowledges, it cannot be expected for a long time that any new translation of the Gâths will command the approbation of all Zend scholars, both owing to the special nature of the Gâths and also to the many divisions on points of theory which exist between the

members of the Zend Brotherhood. All acquainted with the state of the Avesta studies know that for many years there was a fierce struggle between those who practically make Zend a mere dialect of Sanskrit, and those who think that the Zoroastrian tradition does more to teach us about the meaning of the Zoroastrian texts than all the Vedas in the world. The latter view is now fast getting the upper hand; it may appear strange that its triumph was so long delayed, and it may be said that the ascendancy of the Vedic school of interpretation in Germany has been most injurious to Zend scholarship, and has delayed its progress for twenty years. We do not wish, of course, to ignore the valuable help that the 'Veda' may give to Zend philology, nor the indirect light it throws upon what may have been the pre-Zoroastrian state of Iranian thought, but it is clear as day that the actual meaning of the Zend language and Zoroastrian doctrine is to be sought for first of all on Iranian ground. That the Parsi tradition is not always reliable, that commentators are apt to subtilize and blunder here as elsewhere, cannot be doubted; but above the direct and conscious tradition embodied in the scholastic books, which may err, is heard the indirect, unconscious, and perfectly safe testimony of that objective tradition which reigns all through Zoroastrianism, from its oldest text to the most recent.

Mr. Mills has tried to steer between the Vedic craze and a tame acquiescence in tradition as found in the Pehlvi translations. It must be confessed that such acquiescence is not the easy thing it may seem, as the Pehlvi translation is not seldom as obscure as the original. That in spite of his long acquaintance with the Pehlvi tradition, Mr. Mills is no blind follower of it, is shown besides by more than one passage in which he boldly makes appeal to the Veda. It is principally in such passages, we confess, that we should differ from the learned translator. For instance, to suppose that the Zoroastrian Gâths should have the slightest reference to the Vedic *āranyakas* (xxx, 2) is to us out of the question, and this appeal to the Vedas is the more strange as here we have one of the few passages in which the traditional translation is easily understood, easily accounts for the text, and agrees with a long series of concurring traditions. The passage refers to the ordeal of fire, and contains the revelation of the *Varuna* so often alluded to through all the Parsi literature.

We have no space to enter into further details. Suffice it to say that no new translator of the Gâths will do his work without taking Mr. Mills's translation into consideration, and that his collection of materials will be a boon to all Zend scholars. We understand that it is proposed to create for him a Zend readership at Oxford; we should welcome this recognition of the importance of Zend studies by the great English University, as well as of the services rendered to Zend philology by the admirable zeal, scholarly patience, and unflagging enthusiasm of our American scholar.

Hannah More. By Charlotte M. Yonge. [Famous Women Series.] Boston: Roberts Bros. 1888.

A REALLY interesting study of Hannah More might easily be made by treating her literary career as a part of what may be called "comparative literature"—literature considered in its relations to the general intellectual life of the age, and to the social conditions by which it is shaped. But Miss Yonge has preferred to give a simple narrative, and it must be said a

dull one, of the incidents of Mrs. More's life. She includes, of course, mention in some detail of her writings and of their reception by the public, but she dwells, as of more importance, on her practical labors for the poor. These labors were indeed admirable, and very remarkable for that day in the largeness of her scale of operations, but essentially possess only a personal interest, so to speak, and would need to be touched in a more dramatic spirit, and with more intimate sympathy, than in this volume to render them interesting. The motto of Miss Yonge's volume would fitly be a quotation from George Eliot, who, reading in her youth Mrs. More's Letters, wrote: "The contemplation of so blessed a character as hers is very salutary."

There might on the other hand be found much entertainment, and something even more valuable than entertainment, in tracing out the causes that made Garrick give his admired friend the name of "Nine"—as uniting all the nine Muses in one—and led to her now forgotten tragedy of "Percy" being highly extolled by the generation to which Sheridan belonged. At the moment that Johnson was writing the 'Lives of the Poets,' he was ready to cry out in a company discussing poetry, "Hush! hush! it is dangerous to say a word about poetry before her [H. M.]; it is talking of war before Hannibal."

When, at the age of forty, she published anonymously her first prose volume—a treatise whose suggestive title, 'Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society,' was well carried out by the good sense of its contents—it was as enthusiastically welcomed as her later productions. The second edition sold in a week, and the third in morning. A few years later, a short and popular refutation of Paine, in the form of a half-humorous dialogue between village politicians, was, if we may believe Miss Yonge, circulated by hundreds of thousands of copies; and, previously, another pamphlet directed against the attacks on religion in the French National Assembly of 1793—the proceeds of whose sale she devoted with liberal and unsectarian benevolence to the benefit of the seven thousand emigrant French clergy in England—obtained two hundred and forty pounds.

Her next literary venture was the writing in company with her sisters—not less able women than herself—a number of stories, ballads, and religious readings, "tracts" for the uneducated. The well-known 'Shepherd of Salisbury Plain' is one of these, of which Wilberforce said that he would rather present himself before Heaven with the 'Shepherd' in his hand than with one of Scott's novels. Every one was reading the tracts, these "Cheap Repository Tracts." Their readers were not only those for whom they were intended, but the Duchess of Gloucester, and her uncle, the Earl of Orford (Walpole), and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Moore), and the Bishop of London (Porteus), and untitled Mason, the friend of Gray, and Dr. Wordsworth, the Master of Trinity, who pronounced them more "novelish and exciting" than was desirable. Two millions of these tracts were sold in one year.

Then came a volume called 'Strictures on Female Education,' which brought down upon Miss More an attack from Peter Pindar because of her views about poets, of whose band she no longer wished to be, in spite of Johnson having said (to Dr. Beattie) very solemnly that Miss More was "the most powerful versificatrix in the English language"—a tribute Miss Yonge has not recorded.

Not long after this time she had to meet the brunt of a more painful and widespread burst

of abuse directed against her in consequence of her efforts to elevate the lower classes. Such sympathies were thought to savor of revolution, and the onslaught upon her was so furious and bitter that nine clergymen, among them the son of the Bishop of London and his chaplain, wrote pamphlets in her defence. The attack was even spoken of as "a national disgrace." She was in the ranks of no party. On one side she heard the bark of the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, and on the other felt the bite of a Jacobin curate, who accused her, among other similar crimes, of being *art et partie* with Charlotte Corday in the assassination of Marat, as a hireling of Pitt. She could laugh at this, but she must have laughed more gayly when at another time her book on 'Practical Piety' was abused by the "high Calvinists" on the ground, among others, that she called the sun *he*, as if she idolatrously believed in Phobus Apollo.

Miss Yonge perhaps does not sufficiently sympathize with Miss More's liberality of mind to bring this quality into due prominence, and, especially, keeps rather in the background her intelligent interest in French matters and familiarity with French literature of the seventeenth century. It is possible Miss Yonge might hesitate to report the story Hannah More tells of herself, that one day Dr. Johnson "reproved me with pretended sharpness for reading 'Les Pensées de Pascal,' alleging that, as a good Protestant, I ought to abstain from books written by Catholics. I was beginning to stand upon my defence, when he took me with both hands, and, with a tear running down his cheek, 'Child,' said he, with the most affecting earnestness, 'I am heartily glad that you read pious books, by whomsoever they may be written.'"

It was not only piousness, but excellence of all kinds that Hannah More was quick to discover and to value wherever she found it, and it is this kindly simplicity of her intelligence, her good-hearted openness of mind, that still keeps her memory green. She liked 'Don Quixote' as well as Pascal, and read both in alternation with the 'Arabian Nights,' 'Tom Jones,' and the Greek tragedians. She was eager that her little friend "Tommy" Macaulay should "become a complete Frenchman," that she might give him the works of Racine. Of 'Corinne' she says, "Like *Pistol*, I swallowed and execrated, yet I went on swallowing. . . . There never was such a book—such a compound of genius and bad taste." When her own 'Coelbs in Search of a Wife' was translated into French, Mme de Staël, in her turn, "swallowed," and probably execrated while praising; but her praise can hardly have echoed the phrase, "a compound of genius and bad taste."

Some of Miss More's other works had also the honor of translation—oddly enough, into Cingalese and Tamil; and it is interesting to know that several of the "Cheap Repository Tracts" were widely circulated in Russia. 'Coelbs' was translated into German, as well as French, which Miss Yonge does not mention. Before her death, too, she could merrily exclaim, "I have conquered America!"—and traces of her conquest may be yet observed.

Colchester. By the Rev. Edward L. Cutts, B.A. [Historic Towns. Edited by E. A. Freeman and William Hunt.] Longmans, 1888. Svo, pp. xii, 219.

THE first four chapters of this book are devoted to the Roman period of Colchester history. The author is evidently afflicted with a mild form of what Madox, in one of his manuscripts in the British Museum, calls "the Roman dance," which has prevailed in England since

Camden's day. Within the past decade or two, there have been some indications that the local historians of England are trying to get rid of this disease, whose chief symptoms, in the acute stage, consist in futile excursions on the etymology of the name of the town, rambling disquisitions concerning sundry pots, fibulas, and other Roman antiquities found in or near the city, and the inference, founded thereon, that the town in question was exceedingly ancient, manifestly the long-lost Calleva or Camulodunum. Such excellent recent works as Hedges's 'Wallingford' (1881) and Tomlinson's 'Doncaster' (1887) show that the "Roman dance" has not yet ceased to afflict England. We do not wish to disparage the value of such discussions, when, as in the case of Mr. Cutts's book, they are rationally conducted. We merely emphasize the fact that in a volume on the general history of Colchester, a quarter of the whole work ought not to be devoted to so small and comparatively unimportant a part of the subject, even though the lineage of the town may be traced back to the "oppidum of the Trinobantes," the royal abode of Cymbeline, and the "Colonia" of Claudius.

The only other chapters that are open to much censure are the two on "municipal government" and "jurisdictions." The latter contains more antiquarian gossip than local constitutional history. There is no work in existence that gives us a clear idea of the nature of the mediæval municipal courts of England, their relation to each other and to the crown. Surely, the historian of a town, in treating of its judicature, should at least furnish us with an enumeration of the different burghal courts, the extent of their jurisdiction, the frequency of their sittings, and the titles of the presiding officers. But we seek in vain for this information not merely in the book before us, but also in most English local histories.

In discussing the municipal government of Colchester, the author speaks of the civic courts as something wholly distinct from the meetings of the burgesses for the management of the local polity. Then, after making some dubious conjectures concerning the burghal officers, he goes on to say: "Here we have the germ of the municipal institutions which it is the business of this chapter briefly to sketch" (pp. 135, 136). It is not at all clear what "here" refers to; he presents nothing tangible enough to be called the germ of the municipal constitution. The latter is, in fact, to be sought in the burghal judicature, which constituted the nucleus of the town assemblies and other municipal institutions.

But, regarded as a whole, Mr. Cutts's book is one of the best of the series. Chapters xii and xvii are particularly well worked up; they contain much valuable information, and afford some vivid glimpses of the every-day life of the mediæval burgesses of Colchester.

History of New York City: Embracing an outline sketch of events from 1609 to 1850, and a full account of its development from 1850 to 1884. By Benson J. Lossing, LL.D. A. S. Barnes & Co. Svo, pp. 881.

The Story of the City of New York. By Charles Burr Todd. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. 478.

The Story of New York. By Elbridge S. Brooks. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. Svo, pp. 311.

EACH new history of New York makes it more and more incontestable that the coöperative plan employed by Mr. Winsor in the case of Boston can alone produce anything satisfactory here. The works of Valentine, Booth,

Stone, and Lamb are defective either in completeness or in essential qualities of grasp, proportion, accuracy, and style. Mr. Lossing's is open to the latter criticism, and purposely subordinates the political to the social and material phases of the city's history during the period on which he specially dwells, and which, by the way, is that of his own acquaintance by contact with New York. Mr. Lossing is a chronicler and an antiquarian, rather than an historian, and his narrative is formless and scrappy to the last degree. We are not surprised that no table of contents is provided; it would have implied a scheme of orderly arrangement of which there is very little beyond the chronological division. Instead of being oppressed by the wealth of his materials, Mr. Lossing could allow two pages (pp. 334-337) to a "remarkable poem" on the changes in New York in the first half of the present century, and eight pages (pp. 247-254) to "a remarkable poetical contribution" to the *Mirror*, which are neither remarkable nor poetical, and have no place whatever in a serious historical review. They illustrate, however, perfectly, Mr. Lossing's conception of his task. The footnotes are largely given up to biographical sketches. Nearly two pages are allotted to each of the following persons: Tweed, Cornelius Vanderbilt, J. W. Francis, C. D. Fredericks, and Judge Daly, and a page to a page and a half is not uncommon. It may be judged, therefore, how large a portion of the volume is consumed in this manner—not the least useful, we admit. The principle of selection, however, in these sketches is as mysterious as in the portraits.

We should be glad if we could vouch for Mr. Lossing's punctiliousness in such information as he chooses to give, but we cannot. He ought not to spell the poet's name "John Pierrepont" (p. 251); he should not say, as on p. 330, that the American Anti-Slavery Society was founded in Philadelphia on December 30, 1833, December 6 being the true date. His statement on the same page as to William Jay's hand in framing the Constitution of that society is unsupported by evidence, and is incredible, seeing that Judge Jay was not present at the founding, and that the so-called essential declarations of policy flowed from the Declaration of Sentiments, which was wholly the work of Garrison. Moreover, the New York abolitionists had to be gently constrained by the latter to go to Philadelphia at all. But it would be idle to push further our critical examination of this ponderous book, of which the most that can be said is, that it supplements to some extent other histories but little more commendable.

Mr. Todd, who acknowledges having had the advantage of using the foregoing work, ends his history where Mr. Lossing begins his, *i. e.*, with the year 1830. Mr. Todd says he has "adopted the view of most scholars, that history ceases fifty years back of the present time, contemporary record taking its place"; but we must say that we have never heard this view advanced, unless by the "scholars" of Chautauqua who have persuaded the Rev. Edward Everett Hale to draw the line in his manual at the war of 1812. Neither Miss Martineau, nor Kinglake, nor Justin McCarthy, nor Thiers, nor Louis Blan, nor Karl Hillebrand, nor Treitschke, nor, in the case of our own country, Botta, Von Holst, the Comte de Paris, McMaster, Schouler, has acted upon it. Moreover, all the political lessons derivable from the history of New York city are to be sought in the past sixty years—the era of mobs, of rowdy political clubs, of rings, and, as against these, of incessant struggle to maintain a healthy municipal existence with the most mixed popu-

lation in any civilized community, and with a defective civic pride and consciousness and continuity. Mr. Todd does touch a little on these topics—as a chronicler, he would say—for he gives a chapter, mildly denominated "The Mouse in the Cheese," to Tweed's doings, and draws "the moral of it." But his outlook is mainly material and social. His subdivisions are good, but "The Free City" is an ill-chosen title for the last. New York was never that, except in the traitorous dreams of Fernando Wood. Mr. Todd's narrative is agreeable and thoroughly readable. More might have been told in the same compass, but he has, we presume consciously, disregarded proportion in favor of picturesqueness.

Mr. Brooks's volume opens as if designed for youthful readers, but one quickly finds that the serious preface is a truer indication of the author's intention. A philosophical treatment has seemed to him at once best and within his grasp, and to it he sacrifices freely the details which distinguish and enliven Mr. Todd's annals. Two works on the same subject, and occupying about the same space on the shelf, could hardly furnish a greater contrast in their conception and execution. Mr. Brooks gives 52 pages of large type to the period before the English conquest of New Amsterdam. Mr. Todd gives 96 of smaller, besides a chapter of 36 pages on the social and domestic life of the Dutch colony. Mr. Brooks asserts, with quite as much positiveness as the evidence warrants, a Spanish occupation or exploration a century before Hudson's arrival. With equal positiveness he finds a Spanish etymology for the name Manhattan. He speaks of "the questionable discoveries of Verazzano." Mr. Todd ignores the Spanish claim, identifies the name of the island with that of the Indian tribe inhabiting it, and asserts that "Verrazano was, therefore, the first European to discover and sail into the city of New York." Mr. Brooks, again, sums up Peter Minuit as "a self-willed and self-seeking adventurer." Mr. Todd more charitably says: "Of the four Governors of New York under the Dutch dynasty, none are worthier of kindly remembrance than Peter Minuit."

But we will not pursue the parallel on this line. Mr. Brooks makes up for his generalizations by appending "the story of New York told in chronological epitome," in a very handy form. He gives, too, the Constitution of the State of New York, and a bibliography. Mr. Todd has also his appendices—one chronological, another a list of mayors. Both works are illustrated—Mr. Todd's much the more usefully; and he alone provides maps.

An Explanatory Digest of Professor Fawcett's "Manual of Political Economy." By Cyril Waters, B.A. Macmillan & Co. 1888.

THIS little book suggests an essay upon the advance which has been made in political economy since Professor Fawcett published his "Manual" in 1863. Professor Fawcett represented the orthodoxy of that day. He was a disciple of Mill, and the master represented "progressive orthodoxy" even more than did the disciple. Mr. Waters is a disciple of Mr. Fawcett, and in the book before us he has conscientiously refrained from showing that he has either learned or forgotten anything of serious importance. On page 3, for instance, we find the famous proposition that "a demand of commodities is not a demand for labor," as if a farmer did not furnish food to support the same amount of labor whether he uses his wheat to buy carriages or buy carts. On page 13 we find a statement of the wage-

fund theory which would suggest that the author had read neither General Walker nor Henry George. It is stated baldly that "the rate of wages depends upon the ratio between capital and population at any time, and is regulated by it." There is no intimation that the productiveness of the labor has anything to do with the question. Had the law been examined in the light of statistics, it would have been seen at once that the ratio of capital to population is double as great in England as in Iowa, while wages are much less. However, the absence of such statistical examination was characteristic of the political economy of a generation ago, and Mr. Waters is perhaps not to be blamed that he has not improved upon the methods of his masters.

There is, however, one feature of his book for which Mr. Waters is to be blamed, and that is its abominable "Mnemonic Rhymes." For example (page 14):

"In every trade or business wages vary, don't you
see,
As that trade or business pleasant or unpleasant still
may be,
And a with ease and cheapness, or with trouble and
expense,
Such trade or business may be learnt, and this is
common sense."
etc., etc.

Were these rhymes as good as they are bad, it would still be difficult to express the sentiments aroused by an attempt to teach political economy by means of them.

Wit, Wisdom, and Pathos from the prose of Heinrich Heine, with a few pieces from the "Book of Songs." Selected and translated by J. Snodgrass. 2d ed. Boston: Cupples & Hurd. 1888. 8vo, pp. 338.

THIS book, of which the first edition was published in 1879, but which was not put upon the American market until now, is well worth reading, especially by those to whom Heine is not accessible in the original. It is fuller than the small volume of "Sensations" put forth fifteen years ago by Mr. Simon Stern of Philadelphia, and the extracts are longer. They are, indeed, long enough to afford some idea of the exuberant wealth of wit, humor, fancy, wisdom, sentiment, and learning scattered with a lavish hand all through the writings of Heine, not excepting mere pot-boilers, such as newspaper correspondence and the like. The "Reisebilder" is, it is true, enjoyable by English readers in the translation of Mr. Charles Godfrey Leland, made a generation ago, but the remaining prose works are to them a sealed book, except for the glimpses vouchsafed by the present volume.

The translation is, in the main, satisfactory, being close enough to satisfy the requirements of fidelity, but not so literal as to smother the spirit of the original. How easy it is for the most practised writer to stumble in rendering the simplest sentence from one language into another, may be seen in Matthew Arnold's Essay on Heine, when he quotes as follows: "The Englishman loves liberty like his lawful wife, the Frenchman loves her like his *mistress*, the German loves her like his old grandmother." The word here rendered as "mistress" is, in the original, "Braut," and Mr. Snodgrass correctly translates it "bride." Another instance may be found in an essay by George Eliot in the *Westminster Review* for January, 1856, where Heine is made to speak of himself as a young man of one and twenty, while Mr. Snodgrass correctly has it two-and-twenty. It is curious to remark that in the French edition of Heine, authorized by him, and published under his eye, we read, "jeune homme de *vingt ans*," making a discrepancy of one year more than George Eliot's version. In the same

passage George Eliot translates: "So you want a bonus for having taken care of your sick mother, and refrained from poisoning your *worthy* brother?" Mr. Snodgrass gives us: "You think, then, that you should have a gratuity for tending your sick mother, or for not poisoning your *elder* brother?" Heine's phrase is "Ihren Herrn Bruder," and *worthy* is a decided intensification of Heine's irony, while *elder* is simply a mistake: "gratuity" is a more correct rendering than "bonus" of the original "Trinkgeld."

Mr. Snodgrass is not as successful with Heine's verse as he is with his prose. The most that can be said in his favor is, that he does as well as is possible for one who is not himself a poet. His versions are, perhaps, not inferior to those of other amateurs, like his countryman, Professor Blackie, or our own James Freeman Clarke, but they will not compare with the spirited work of Emma Lazarus. Like the last two, Mr. Snodgrass has himself passed away, since this edition was brought out.

Ignorant Essays. By Richard Dowling. D. Appleton & Co. 1888.

MR. DOWLING appears to be a person of literary enthusiasms, and the subject of his "ignorant essays" is his own "fads." He seems to have been affected by modesty when he selected his title, but there is no other evidence that he possesses that virtue. He expresses his opinion with a largeness of phrase that intimates his entire belief in himself; in fact, he does no more than "rave," like a college student over his favorite books. Enthusiasm, however, is not unpleasant to witness when it assumes so naive a form. What he has to say is not criticism—his statements have no other charm than a boyish abundance of literary spirits; but it is something to be able to maintain the high temperature of a youthful adoration for Keats, De Quincey, and Mangan into the mature years of cold judgment. When Mr. Dowling is not enthusiastic, he is either clever or humorous—such cleverness as consists in naming "the two best books" as Nuttall's "Standard Dictionary" and "Whitaker," out of which he makes a whole essay, and such humor as we can best illustrate by his remarks upon ourselves, alias "Uncle Sam":

"His contribution to the arts is almost nothing. His outrages against established artistic

canons have been innumerable. He owns a new land without tradition. He laughs at all traditions. He has never raised a saint or a mummy or a religion (Mormonism he stole from the East), a crusader, a tyrant, a painter, a sculptor, a musician, a dramatist, an inquisitor, a star-chamber, a council of ten. He has devoted his leisure time, the hours not spent in cutting down forests or drugging Indians with whiskey, to laughing at the foolish old notions which the foolish old countries cherish. He has a wonderful fertile estate of two thousand million acres, only one-fourth of which is even to this day under direct human management. . . . But in none of these did he find anything but axes and whiskey of the last use."

So he goes on for pages to inform us that our literature has begun with burlesques and blasphemies exclusively, inasmuch as "Emerson, Bryant, Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Lowell, Holmes, and Irving are merely Europeans born in America," whereas "Ward, Harte, Twain, and Breitmann are original and American." Such humor, such cleverness, and such boiling enthusiasm as we have indicated make up a volume not inaptly named.

Histoire du Plébiscite. Par Charles Borgeaud. Le Plébiscite dans l'Antiquité: Grèce et Rome. Geneva: H. Georg.

In view of the fact that democracy is gaining a stronger foothold among civilized nations, M. Borgeaud feels justified in attempting a history of the part played by the people in the making of laws, the evolution of mass-meeting legislation. The volume before us treats of the ancient plébiscite, particularly that of Sparta, Athens, and Rome.

Contrasting the idea of law which prevailed at the beginning of history with that of to-day—then the voice of deity, uttered from the clouds and interpreted by priests; now the act of men, the result of reasoning and debate—the author asks for the reason of this change, and finds it in the history of the plébiscite. While some would place the transition in the rise of democracy in Athens, he finds a peculiar field for this evolution also in Rome. By a subtle operation of the mind, which we can scarcely appreciate, the Romans, without losing their supreme reverence for oracular utterances, began to take divine ordinances under human revision when these did not agree with popular desires. With the rise of the *plebs* and the introduction of the *plebiscitum* began a method of legislation which came to be regarded as co-

ordinate, as *lex inauspicata*, till, finally, under the great jurists, law came to be defined as "that which the people commands and ordains." While the plébiscite of the ancients was quite different from the modern idea, and the proportion of people participating very small, yet its operation affected legislation in a manner parallel to that of humanism in religion and philosophy.

The student of politics will feel indebted to M. Borgeaud for his succinct yet entertaining treatment of this subject, and will await with interest the remainder of the work.

Madame de Sévigné. By Gaston Boissier. Svo, pp. 205.—*George Sand.* By E. Caro. Svo, pp. 235. Translated by Melville B. Anderson, translator of Hugo's "Shakespeare." [The Great French Writers.] Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1888.

THESE volumes in the original having been noticed at length by our Paris correspondent, it needs only to be said here that they are well translated, and that they have the meritorious quality of reading like translations. While he is never betrayed into the use of French idioms, Mr. Anderson follows his authors so closely and accurately that the character of the form continues to harmonize with the character of the thought—an effect too little aimed at by translators. This result is furthered rather than hindered occasionally by a felicitously free translation of a new word or phrase. In such passages Mr. Anderson seems, either by labor or by luck, to have found the very expression the author would have used had he been writing in English. The only criticism to be made is on the translation of the poetical passages which occur here and there. Mr. Anderson is evidently not an easy versifier, and his readers should be assured that he does but scant justice to poor Coulanges and the other *chansonniers* of his day.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.
Arabian Nights. (Classics for Children.) Boston: Ginn & Co.
Curran, J. E. Miss Frances Merley. Boston: Cupples & Furd. 50 cents.
Denslow, W. B. Principles of the Economic Philosophy of Society, Government, and Industry. Cassell & Co. \$1.50.
El Prof. R. T. Problems of To-day. T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.25.
Goldsmith's Plays: The Good-Natured Man; She Stoops to Conquer. London: Geo. Bell & Sons; New York: Scribner & Welford.
Haggard, R. Mr. Meeson's Will. Harper & Bros.

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